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KAPIL KAPOOR

## ANALOGY AS ARGUMENT IN ĀDI ŚAṆKARA'S VIVEKACŪḌĀMAṆI

Śri Ādi Śaṅkara employs analogy extensively to build up the universe of his meaning in *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*.

### I

We know that in almost all Indian philosophical systems, ignorance, *avidyā* or *ajñāna*, is considered to be the root of all suffering. Therefore, a central concern is the means (*pramāṇa*) and nature of true knowledge (*pramā*) which by enabling one to cognize reality properly would eliminate suffering, *duḥkha*, from life. "Epistemology thus becomes closely linked up with ontology and both of them again with ethics".<sup>1</sup> In the constitution of their ontological systems, the philosophical systems differ from each other in the sources of knowledge admitted by them - from one to six - as shown below:

School of Thought	pratyakṣa	anumāna	śabda	upamāna	arthāpatti	anupalabdhi
Cārvāka	✓	-	-	-	-	-
Vaiśeṣika Buddhist	✓	✓	-	-	-	-
Sāṃkhya Yoga	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-
Nyāya	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-
Prābhākara	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-
Bhāṭṭa Vedānta	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

The fourth source of knowledge, *upamāna* is admitted by Nyāya as well as by the Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta schools. For early Nyāya, it is that knowledge which we gain about an unfamiliar thing on the basis of its similarity (*sādrśyatā*) with a familiar thing.<sup>2</sup> For later Nyāya, it is the knowledge of the denotation of an unfamiliar word on the basis of a knowledge of similarity and difference with a familiar object.<sup>3</sup> As against this, for the Mīmāṃsā and Advaita schools, *upamāna* is "the knowledge of similarity about an absent object obtained from the perceived similarity of a present object".<sup>4</sup> That the knowledge we have of an object, - its *guṇa*, *dharma* and *kriyā* - is utilised to understand and interpret a new/different object, is self-evident in experience move from the known to the unknown on the basis of a cognized similarity between the two.<sup>5</sup>

Now, we know that analogical reasoning that is, reasoning of from perceived similarity is the foundation of

upamāna, has a long history in the Indian intellectual tradition and has always enjoyed a certain epistemological status in the structuration and interpretation of reality. Professor S.K. De (1925) traces the origin of the formal theory of poetics to the discussions in early grammarians and etymologists about *upamā* 'simile', which evidently is not just the figure of figures in Indian poetics but also a crucial organizing principle - the principle of similitude which establishes relationships among different objects and structures them into a taxonomic system. The word *upamā*, for instance, "is found", says professor De, "as early as the *R̥g-Veda* (V 34.9). ... It is conceded on the authority of Yāska and others that the concept of *upamā*, or similitude considerably affected the Vedic language as well as its accent .... the first evidence of a definite activity in this direction (theory of poetics) is traceable in the *Nighaṇṭu*, and *Nirukta*."<sup>6</sup> Professor De then goes on to trace the growth of this concept in the grammarians. Pāṇini defines various terms connected with *upamā* and incidentally discusses from the grammarian's point of view, the influence of the concept of comparison on different parts and areas of language.<sup>7</sup> Later Kātyāyana follows Pāṇini in noting the concept of similarity and its influence on both the structure and description of language.<sup>8</sup> In his lengthy comment on Pāṇini II.1.55: *upamānāni sāmānyavacane*, Patañjali defines and illustrates Pāṇini's use of the term *upamāna*, and in the process explicates how Pāṇini's rule captures that segment of Sanskrit linguistic structure and expression which is governed by the principle of similitude.

In the use of the principle of analogy there are three clear phases - (1) as a device to constitute meaning in the *R̥g-Vedic* poetry; (2) as an instrument of

determining the meaning of Vedic *mantras*, as in Yāska's *Nighaṇṭu* and *Nirukta*; and (3) as an organizing principle of a part of the linguistic structure and description in grammar. This recognition of its creative and interpretive functions led to the establishment of *upamāna* as the fourth epistemology in the later philosophic schools. However, in philosophy, its role as a means of knowledge has been both contested and discussed,<sup>9</sup> and it is only in the later philosophic schools, such as Vedānta, that it became an independent epistemology. These discussions in grammar and philosophy undoubtedly made it possible for the poeticians like Mammaṭa to analyse and describe so well the structure of similes.<sup>10</sup> The principles of similitude has thus been such a dominant creative, interpretive and organizing principle, that Vāmana, the 8th century poetician asserts that all figurative or indirect meaning and expressions in language are but aspects of *upamā-prapañca* 'the constructs of similitude'. The use of *upamāna* in discourse has been noted by Kauṭilya. The *Arthaśāstra* in the final Bk. XV, Chapter 1, lists on the basis of content 32 kinds of propositions, *yuktis*, employed in the text's discourse.<sup>11</sup> The 32 categories are of course general categories of discourse applicable to all verbal compositions including poetry. It lists *upamāna* 'simile', as the twelfth category. In the third classification of discourse sentences, *drṣṭānta* 'analogy', appears as one of the three categories - the other two being *pratijñā* 'affirmation' or statement and *hetu* 'logical proof' or argument. *Drṣṭānta*, a parallel event or experience, an analogy, serves as an illustration or even as an argument. *Drṣṭānta* is a kind of extended or elaborate comparison, and therefore is one kind of *upamā*, and as we shall see below, Śrī Ādi Śaṅkara employs *drṣṭānta* or analogy as an argument or as an

illustration in fortysix *kārikās* (out of 133 *kārikās* in which similitude is present).

There is need to clearly separate the term *analogy* from the term *simile*, which so far we have been using interchangeably. *Analogy* is a more general term and represents the concept of similarity - *sādrśyatā*. The term *simile* is specifically used for the figure of speech called *upamā* in the tradition. The Sanskrit poeticians locate the simile, in (a) an affix, (b) a compound, and (c) in a clause (or sentence).

There is, however, one more possibility - this is the *upamāna* 'simile' beyond a sentence, at the level of discourse: the whole proposition in a sentence serves as the object of comparison (*upamāna*) for another sentential-proposition which is the subject of comparison (*upameya*). The *upamāna*-proposition serves as an argument for or illustration or explanation of the truth of the *upameya*-proposition. It is best to reserve the term *analogy* for this *upamāna*-proposition, while reserving the term *simile*, *upamā* for the other three types recognized by the Sanskrit poeticians. To give an example - in the *kārikā* 144 which has two sentences, the first sentence is an analogy and functions as an argument for the truth of the statement in the second sentence: "just as the clouds formed by the sun's effulgence spread and hide the sun itself (sentence 1) - so does the pride produced by the self hide that very self (sentence 2)". There is perfect correspondence between the elements and the property (or activity) of the second sentence and the first sentence - the self-evident facts of the world of nature enumerated in the first sentence serve to explain and establish the truth of the human experience. The

proposition in the first sentence constitutes a discursual analogy.

## II

There is a profound truth in Vāmana's understanding - all meaning is *upamā-prapañca*, a product of juxtaposition and relation between words and objects as the cognitive process of making sense of the reality proceeds by recognizing how a given new experience or phenomenon falls within which schema already available to us. Ādi Śaṅkara's *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*, demonstrates this so well, for in *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*, Ādi Śaṅkara constructs his universe of meaning - the human self and the worldly experience of happiness and suffering in relation to the objects of senses - in a large measure through analogical reasoning which takes the form of different kinds and nuances of comparisons of the invisible reality with the visible and succeeds in using *drśya-prapañca* to demolish the reality of that *drśya-prapañca* itself.

In discourse, i.e. composition, *upamāna* manifests as the figurative device of *upamā* 'simile' or 'extended simile'. Like all figures of speech, *upamā* is a method, a strategy, of constituting meaning in discourse. It may be used in conjunction with or in opposition to other methods such as straightforward argument, declarative, injunctive and interrogative statements and rhetorical interrogatives. Conditions and contexts of the discourse would determine the employment of any or all of these methods; but, it is certainly interesting to speculate on the significance of using one or some methods more densely than others.



## Analogy in Ādi Śaṅkara's Vivekacūḍāmaṇi

Out of the total 581 *kārikās* in *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*, 133 *kārikās* have one or more similes. We list below these *kārikās* by their number in the text:

Total no. of <i>kārikās</i>	<i>kārikās</i> which contain one or more similarities (no. of similes is identified in the parenthesis)
581	133 = <i>kārikā</i> nos. 37, 38, 39 (1-2), 40, 41 (1-2), 42, 43, 46, 49, 54-56, 60, 62, 63 (1-2), 67, 68, 70, 80, 81 (1-2), 82 (1-2), 83, 84 (1-2), 92, 97, 102, 112 (1-2), 118, 119 (1-2), 125, 132, 134, 135-139, 141, 143 (1-3), 144, 145, 147 (1-10), 149, 151, 153, 157, 165, 168, 172, 175, 175 (1-2), 178(1-2), 192, 193, 197, 199, 200, 201, 206, 215, 220, 221, 233, 236, 243, 266, 273, 275, 284, 286, 289, 301, 303, 308, 310, 312, 320, 324-326, 332, 336, 337, 338, 345, 347, 349, 350, 359, 360, 362, 375, 378, 386, 388, 391, 403, 414, 415, 417, 483 (1-2), 498, 499, 500(1-4), 501, 502, 505(1-3), 506, 507, 509, 510, 519, 534, 538, 549, 550, 551, 556, 557, 561(1-2), 564, 565, 566, 567, 570, 572, 581.

*Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* is a major, non-commentary Advaita composition of Śrī Ādi Śaṅkara. Its 581 *kārikās* range over a wide range of subjects - value of the knowledge of universal self (*Brahman*), means of gaining this knowledge, primacy of one's own efforts, significance of self-knowledge, necessity of actual experience, the gross

body, the ten senses, the mind-intellect-consciousness-inner-self (*antaḥkaraṇa*) continuum, the subtle body, *prāṇa* (breath) and *ahaṁkāra* (me/mine consciousness), the nature of illusory reality, the self and the non-self, practice, the nature of worldly constraints, the four levels of being (skin and bones, the five performing senses led by speech, the five cognitive senses led by the mind, the agentive intellect), self-knowledge as the key to liberation, oneness of the universal self and the world, reflections in *Mahāvākyas*, negation of desire and anxiety, definition of *samādhi*, *vairāgya* and *dhyāna*, disregard of the visible reality, properties of a 'realized' soul (*jīvan-mukta*), reflections on the *prārabdha* (destiny determined by *karma*), negation of multiplicity, and self realization. The book is an extended argument to prove that liberation from sorrow, etc. is to be gained only by realization of the oneness of the individual self and the universal self and by no other means - *brahmātmaikatvabodhena mokṣaḥ siddhyati na anyathā*. Its relationship to the reader is analogically described in the text itself in *kārikā* 581, the last *kārikā* obviously by someone other than Śrī Ādi Śaṅkara's - 'the reader is like a traveller on the worldly path suffering from the afflictions of his worldly experience and wandering like a thirsty traveller in the desert, and the "speech of Ādi Śaṅkara", this book, is something that shows the existence of an ocean of nectar close-by (581)

This text is thus instrumental in relieving the burden of wearisome existence and it is structured in the form of a dialogue. After the first fortynine *kārikās* which are in the form of third person statement, the dialogue between the teacher and the disciple begins with the disciple asking the central questions which are then handled in the text - "What are the worldly fetters (bonds)

How did they happen to be? What sustains them and how to free oneself from these bonds? What is non-self? What is the Great Self? How does one recognize and discriminate between them?" (*kārikā* 51). In answering these questions, the text accepts as evidence: (a) *śruti* and *Veda-vākyas*, the grand equative sentences, (b) the *śāstras*, (c) argument (often founded on analogy), (d) the sayings of the earlier *açāryas*, and (e) actual experience, *anubhava* (*kārikā* 475).

As we have already noted, analogical reasoning argument based more or less in a simile, extended or simple - constitutes the dominant method of discourse, as almost 22.54% of the *kārikās* include one or more comparisons (*upamā*). Interestingly, the ultimate concept in this structure of thought, the concept of Brahman, it is asserted, is *upamā-rahita*, beyond the pale of any comparison (see *kārikā* 410 and 494), but in order to cognize it, one has to understand and discard layers of visible reality with the help precisely of similes, *upamā*. The reason is stated once again in the text itself. In order to cognize Brahman, the ultimate reality of this universe, one has to transcend the manifest attributes (*upādhi*) which envelope this reality. This negation or transcendence of the visible and the concrete is possible only through a properly tuned intellect that has already grasped the concept of illusory appearance. Once this is done, ultimate reality is still not to be grasped by perception nor by verbal descriptions for it is beyond the descriptive potential of words (*śabda-śakti-vṛtti*), it can be grasped only by *lakṣaṇā-vṛtti*, figurativeness of language that suggests meanings beyond denotation, meanings whose reality is only experienced by the receiver in his mind. Hence the role of *upamā* (and *upamāna*) in this discourse. As the text points

out, in the grand *śruti*-sentences in the *mahāvākyas*, that establish absolute identity, *ananvaya*, between desperate objects, the unity (*ekatva*) is to be understood only figuratively (*kārikā* 244), and therefore needs to be interpreted figuratively (*kārikā* 249). In fact to treat the visible/concrete reality (*drśya*) as an appearance (*ābhāsarūpa*, *kārikā* 414), itself requires the mind to sort of go beyond denotation, to reach that what is not palpable. Of course, it is possible to reach this by pure argument as well (*kārikā* 248).

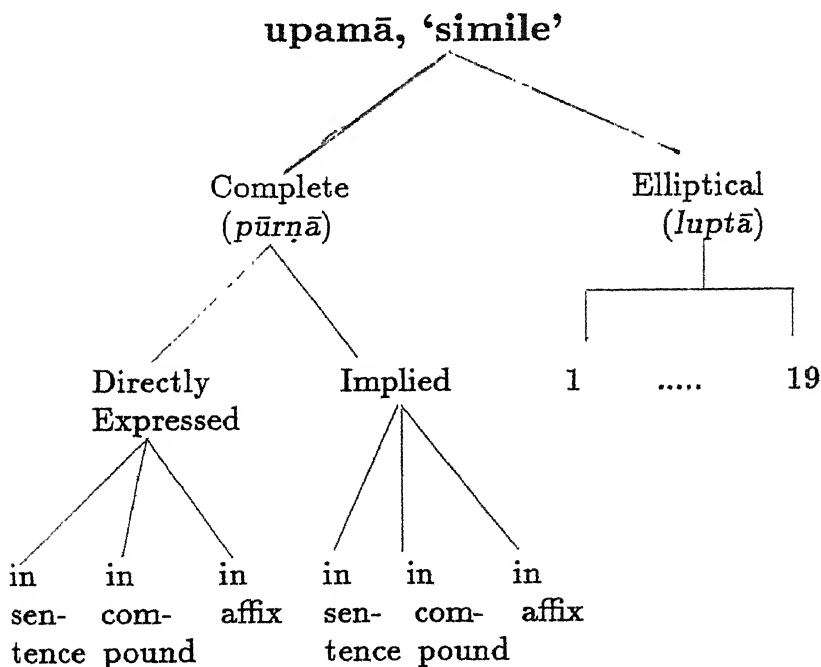
Sentences in discourse have been classified in the tradition according to different parameters. The first classification is syntactic (i) declarative sentences, (ii) interrogative sentences, (iii) injunctive sentences (imperative mood), and (iv) rhetorical interrogatives. There are categorical assertions in *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* which belong to the class 'declarative'; for example - *vedāntārtthavicāreṇa jāyate jñānam uttamam* (*kārikā* 47) 'By reflecting on the meaning of *Vedānta*, is gained valid knowledge'. Also notice, that the teacher employs mostly declarative sentence, while the disciple almost exclusively employs the interrogative mood. The injunctive-utterances occur in several sections - *praśna-vidhi*, the way of asking question (*kārikā* 42, 50, 51), *upadeśa-vidhi*, the way of giving, laying down directions (*kārikā* 43-44), *dhyāna-vidhi*, method of meditation (*kārikā* 379). There is also an occasional use of the rhetorical-interrogative in place of the declarative (*kārikā* 56). The *upamā* sentences, sentences that contain similes, can belong to any of these four syntactic types (see, for example *kārikā* 39, 42, 43 for similes in declarative, interrogative and injunctive sentences).

Let us look at the structure of Simile in the manner of the poeticians. There are thus four kinds of simile according to their syntactic locations:

1. in a nominal affix
2. in a compound
3. in a clause or sentence
4. in a pair of sentences (or discourse)

The Indian poeticians have given us the following typology of *upamā* (simile):<sup>12</sup>

TABLE



COMPLETE						ELLIPTICAL					
Directly Expressed			Implied			Directly Expressed			Implied		
Sentence	Compound	Affix	Sentence	Compound	Affix	Sentence	Compound	Affix	Sentence	Compound	Affix
39,102	378	84.2	137		134	147(1-9)	483.1	97,	233	37,38,39,	125
118,136		174(1-2)*	138		135	483.2		(237)		41(1-2),	139
149,157		92,132			197	499				42,43,46,	347
		157,200				505,				49,60,62	359
168,192		236(237)**				534				63(1-2),	415
193,332		275,286								68,70(1-2)	
386,414		301,337								80,81,(1-2)	
		345,375								8,283,122.2	
477,498		388,452								143,147	
500,550		500,1-4								149,178	
557,841		502,506								273,303	
		509,549								312,320,336	
		561(1-2)								431,519,581	
18	1	27	3		3	13	1	1	1	34	5

\* (1-2) means there are two similes in the *kārika*

. \*\* assignable alternatively too.

A complete simile is one in which all the four elements - the subject compared, the object compared to, the common or shared property (*dharma* which may be *guṇa* or *kriyā*) and the term of similitude, such as *yathā*, etc.- are explicitly mentioned. If one or more of these is omitted, we have the elliptical simile. The complete simile may be further directly expressed by the use of terms such as *yathā*, *tathā*, *iva* which mean 'like' or 'also', or it may be indirectly expressed by terms such as *yata*, *tulya* which mean 'equal to' and suggest approximate similarity. Each of these two types may be present in a sentence, or in a compound, or in the nominal affix. The elliptical simile has 19 subtypes according to the element or elements omitted - the common property may not be mentioned, the object compared to may be left unexpressed, or the term of similitude may be left unexpressed, or the term of similitude may be left out, or more than one of these elements may be omitted.

Excluding the discursual analogies, the similes in *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* can be assigned to all types in the above framework (see the table on p. 12).<sup>13</sup> From among the different classes of similes, Śrī Ādi Śaṅkara employs in the decreasing order of frequency, (i) the elliptical compound simile, (ii) the complete direct affix simile, and (iii) the complete direct sentence simile. In the *elliptical compound simile*, the shared property as well as the term of similitude are omitted, such compounds contribute to brevity and, because the comparison is not fully articulated, also elicit greater reflective participation of the reader as for example in *ajñāna-sarpa* (*kārikā* 63). In the complete direct affix simile, the similitude is expressed directly and marked by the particle *vata* which has the meaning 'like' as, for example,

in *pīyūṣavata* (*kārikā* 84) 'like nectar'. The complete, directly expressed simile is marked by any of the particles, *yathā*, *tathā*, *iva*, *vata*.

The guru, like *śruti*, gives knowledge in an impersonal manner (*kārikā* 477). All similes have the effect of manner (*kārikā* 477). All similes have the effect of making the discourse rich with suggestion while at the same time clarifying or reinforcing the meaning through evocation of a common experience, and also imparting a visual quality to that experience.

Discoursal analogies *dr̥ṣṭānta*, have a much more important function - they demonstrate on the basis of the familiar and the known, the truth of a general proposition about human life and nature. The whole proposition matches with the other whole proposition in that the subject, the object and the property (*guṇa*) or action (*kriyā*) in one are compared with the corresponding subject, object, *guṇa* and *kriyā*. These elaborate comparisons serve as forms of *yukti*, which prove the truth of some assertions just as other assertions are proved or supported by *śruti* (*mahāvākyas*), *śāstras*, and *tarka* (logical argument). That there are 46 such discoursal analogies shows the great reliance Śrī Ādi Śaṅkara places on this method of constructing his meaning. These analogies are mostly drawn from the relatively stable universe of nature, though there are a few from the ordinary human experience as well. The *upameya*, the subjects compared, almost all, concern the human experimental and cognitive condition and processes, whose very characteristic is a degree of abstractness, a certain fuzziness. The analogy from nature or from recognisable ordinary experience gives a cognizable and comprehensible form to this abstract



conceptualization, as the equation between the two the *upameya* and the *upamāna* propositions is perfect, holding as it does over all the three parts. 9 of these 46 analogies, however, function as illustrations (viz. *kārikā* 40, 54-56, 289, 310, 388, 570, 572) in which case they are placed after the proposition. Both the argument and illustrative analogies are marked by the same particles, and on occasions may not have any markers at all (viz. *kārikās* 40, 54-56, 152, 324, 388, 561). If we closely compare the illustrative and the argument analogies, we notice that when an analogy is an illustration, the comparison is very broad and pertains to the action - the other elements, the subjects and the objects, are related to each other by virtue of this similarity of the nature of action. See, for example, *kārikā* 40, the goodman is related to the moon, and suffering of human beings to the heated earth-surface; but there is no palpable similarity between these, expect that they are related to each other through the action of cooling. Consider on the other hand the *kārikā* 60 which is an instance of analogy as argument - here the attributes of the *vīṇā* and its action are compared to the attributes of a *vidvān*: Even the substance of the *vīṇā*'s music and the scholar's words is the same - sound. And therefore, the effect or purpose of the two is also the same - entertainment and indulgence. Such elaborate comparisons induce ready belief in the related assertions.

Here now we reproduce the substance of these 46 analogies:

## Analogy as Argument

1'

Kārikā	Marker	Upamāna	Upameya
40	—	The moon on its own cools the earth's surface heated by the rays of the sun	= Good people are on their own ready to relieve the burden and suffering of others
54	—	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- a burden on the head can be carried by others as well (54)</li> <li>- thirst and hunger have to be assuaged by oneself (54)</li> <li>- the patient has to take the medicines himself (55)</li> </ul>	= Father's loans can be repaid by the sons but the chains of worldly existence are cut only by one-self (53)
55	—	—	=
56	—	true knowledge of objects has to be gained by oneself	= the beauty of the moon has to be appreciated by one's own eyes.

60	-	the beauty of <i>viñā</i> and its excellence in performance is for entertainment/self-indulgence only	= lucidity, word power and exegetical ability of a scholar are for self-indulgence only
67	<i>tat-vat</i>	The event of taking out money and jewels embedded in the earth by listening to a dependable person, excavating the earth, removing earth and stones, and not by words alone	= by realizing the pure self with the help of a guru and by effort in the form of contemplation and not by talking alone
112.1	<i>yathā</i>	destruction of snake-illusion by true knowledge of rope	= destruction of ignorance/illusion of the knowledge of Brahman
• 114	<i>yathā-tathā</i>	clouds formed by the sun's heat, covering and hiding the sun itself	= pride produced by the self ( <i>ātma</i> ) hiding the self, itself
145	<i>yathā-</i>	on the sun being hidden by	= the distracted intellect of a

	etan	dust and clouds, the stormy wind creating stress for the people	foolish person causing miseries to him, when his intellect ( <i>buddhi</i> ) is covered by tamoguna
152	-	man's thirst quenched by pure water which appears after the layer of moss slime removed	= self-illuminating paramātmā appears when man transcends his five selves ( <i>pañca-kōśa</i> )
165	yathā- tathaiva	not involving the intellect in shadows, dreams, images, and imagined objects	= similarly the need not to in- volve the self-intellect ( <i>ātma- buddhi</i> ) in this living body as well
172	tathaiva	The mind creating the illusion of subject-object in dreams that have no actual substance	= so also the wakeful reality a product of the indulgent mind
199	yāvata- naiva	so long as illusion lasts, a snake appears in a rope and when the illusion is destroyed the snake no longer is seen	= only so long as there is illu- sion, the <i>jīva-bhāva</i> produced by false knowledge, has a reality

215	tata	so also the absence of these	= ahaṁkāra, etc. are evolved from a previous native prakṛti
220	tathaiva	a foolish person mistaking the image of the sun in a pot of water for the sun itself	= the foolish person takes his citta manifest in attributes as his self
221	yathā-tathā	the wiseman transcending the pot, the water and the image of the sun and identifying the sun as the fourth entity, the source of all this	= a wise man transcends his body intellect and the attributes of citta and identifies the indivisible self
289	iva	the space in the jar merges with sky-space when the jar breaks	= the individual self similarly should be <u>merged</u> with the Universal Self (paramātmā)
310	yathā	just as the cloud which comes in contact with the cold wind in the monsoon season	this ahaṁkāra of man, even if destroyed, if it comes in contact with citta, consciousness,

Kārikā	Marker	Upamāna	Upameya
		(declarative) (creates a disturbance)	even for a few seconds, it comes alive again creating a thousand upheavals
324	—	a woman makes her old, foolish lover mad by destroying his discriminating intellect	= the intellect in disjunction with the self of a learned man getting attracted by the objects of senses, further destroys him by leading him into more errors
325	yathā-tathā	The moss once removed by hand from water-surface does not stay separate and immediately becomes the water again	= the learned man who does not have self-reflection is similarly, repeatedly and quickly enveloped by illusions
326	yathā-tathā	The ball dropped inadvertently on the steps of stairs will	once the citta is distracted from its proper goal (Brahman),

		keep on travelling down	towards lower instincts, it will then keep on degenerating
350	iva	iron in conjunction with fire assumes so many forms	= the intellect in conjunction with the self manifests in so many <i>viśayas</i> , objects of senses
360	tathaiva	by excluding every other action and indulgence and exclusively meditating on moth, an insect becomes in the end moth-like	= a yogi with single minded and intense meditation on the Universal Self/acquires the properties of that self
362	yathā-tathā	gold perfected in fire in the right way/attains its natural pure state	= mind through meditation, <i>dhyāna</i> , gives up impurities of <i>sattva-rajas-tamas</i> and attains its natural self
388	—	(just as) the illusory snake in rope is finally seen as rope only	= the reality of an object conceived in illusion is established when true cognition dawns

Kārikā	Marker	Upamāna	Upameya
391	yathā- tathā	wave, froth, whirlpool and bubbles are all substance, <u>water</u>	= from substance (body) to awareness of the body (aḥam- kāra) all this world is in its true substance pure, intelligent self
403	iva	when darkness merges in light, everything is seen with great clarity	= when ignorance is superseded by knowledge, how can doubt or difference remains
442	iva	when the river merges in the ocean, it becomes the ocean - no longer subject to disturbance or change	= a jīvan-mukta one who has merged his self in the Universal Self is not subjected to distur- bance by the pleasures of senses offered to him
445	tathaiva	the lust of a lustful man is stilled in the presence of his mother	= a learned man once he has experienced Brahman, is no longer interested in worldly attractions



451	<i>tathā</i>	the space, sky-space is not permeated by the wine-smell of the wine in the jar	= the self in conjunction is not permeated by the properties of the attribute
458	<i>yathā</i>	objects seen in dream on their own keep figuring in the wakeful mind	= eating/non-eating and such other actions of a learned man are also unconscious, natural activities
506	<i>yathā</i>	heat and cold, good and bad even when they touch a shadow have no effect on the source of shadow The cleanliness, dirt or such other property of a house has no effect on the lamp lighted in that house	= the properties, actions and attributes of the body have nothing to do with the self  -do-
507	<i>yathā-tathaiva</i>	the sun is the witness of man's actions, fire has conjunction	= the native intelligent self is a witness of the pleasures

Kārikā	Marker	Upamāna	Upameya and objects of senses
510	yathā	with iron, the rope is associated with the illusory snake { the sky has nothing to do with the proper times of the jar	= the self has nothing to do with the properties of the body
538	tathaiva	the child on getting a toy forgets his thirst and hunger and gets engrossed playing with the toy	= the man of knowledge devoid of <i>ahamkāra</i> and <i>manatā</i> (self-interest), roams delightedly delightfully in his self
549	tatavatā	the sun even when not actually swallowed by Rāhu, but appearing to have been so swallowed, is falsely believed by people to have been swallowed by Rāhu	= people falsely consider the body to be the reality even of a knower of Brahman who in fact is liberated from his body/ but whose body is there nonetheless as an appearance
551	yathā-tathā	the log of wood is carried up and down by the flow of a mountain stream	= the body of a liberated man partakes of worldly experience by virtue of destiny

556	<i>yathā- tathā</i>	whatever dress he may or may not wear, an actor remains a human being	= a knower of <i>Brahman</i> whether marked by or devoid of attributes, is always only <i>Brahman</i>
561	—	the tree is <i>nitya</i> - with its beginning and end not known - it is the fruits, flowers and leaves that take birth and get destroyed	= the self is <i>nitya</i> - it is the body, senses, breath and intellect that have beginning and the end
564	<i>yathā- tathaiva</i>	stone, tree, grass, food and chaff - all become earth ( <i>mitti</i> ) when burnt	= body, senses, breath and mind and all the visible uni- verse becomes the one Universal Self in the fire of knowledge
565	<i>yathā- tathaiva</i>	when the sun's light spreads its opposite, the darkness is absorbed in the light	= the entire visible universe is absorbed in the <i>Brahman</i> when knowledge dawns

<i>Kārikā</i>	Marker	Upamāna	Upameya
566	<i>yathā-tathaiva</i>	when the jar breaks the space in the jar becomes one with the vast space	= when the attribute is assimilated, the knower of <i>Brahman</i> becomes <i>Brahman</i>
567	<i>yathā-tathā</i>	milk added to milk, oil to oil, water to water - all become one	= a seer, a knower of self, when absorbed in his self becomes the self
570	<i>yathā</i>	just as the appearance of a snake in a movement free rope is a mere illusion	= enslavement ( <i>bandhana</i> ) and liberation ( <i>mokṣa</i> ) are products of individual consciousness ( <i>māyā</i> ) and do not belong to the self
572	<i>yathā</i>	just as when our eyesight is impeded by the clouds we say that the sun is hidden	= enslavement and liberation are qualities ( <i>guṇa</i> ) of <i>buddhi</i> (intellect) an ignorant person vainly imagines them to be inherent in the self

We cannot fail to notice the element of beauty in the similes and analogies of Śrī Śaṅkara - in fact the abundance of these beautiful images shows once more that Śrī Śaṅkara was a philosopher gifted with poetic imagination. We cannot miss the beauty and the nostalgia in the images of (i) the parent tree unmoved by where its dry leaves fall, (ii) the clouds wandering in and out of the sky with the breezes shepherding them along, (iii) the rivers merging in the great sea (*kārikā* 442), (iv) the lighted lamp impervious to unaffected by the dirt it lights up (*kārikā* 506), (v) the log of wood fretted and driven by the limpid mountain stream (*kārikā* 551), (vi) the tree *nitya* as a *sākṣī*, while the fruit, flowers and leaves take birth and wither (*kārikā* 561), (vii) the jar breaking and its inner space dissolving (*kārikā* 506). And of course each contains a tremendous truth validated by our own separate experiences as human beings. It is the beauty, the poetry and the truth, of these analogies that makes Śrī Śaṅkara's discourse accessible to and desirable for the ordinary men and women. In fact, since Śrī Śaṅkara's work had atleast its genesis in the oral discourses he must have given to his folk-audiences during his innumerable travels through the length and breadth of our country, it is not surprising that he employs similes and analogies so extensively. It is the *drṣṭānta-vākyas* that move and convince the listener/reader in oral communication.

Finally, we may draw attention to the semantics of these comparisons - first of all, we have already pointed out that the natural phenomēnon serve as the objects of comparison, and we have already said that it is so because the objects of nature are relatively stable and are associated with certain marked attributes in the popular perception. Thus the ocean is an endless expanse

and man is very small and cannot chart or go across this expanse with certainty - he is likely to drown and be lost. So in his similes, Śrī Śaṅkara repeatedly compares the worldly life (*bhāva*) to the ocean using various synonyms in the process. Śrī Śaṅkara compares *bhāva* Being, to several other objects as well - 'fire' (*kārikā* 38 43), 'great heat' (*kārikā* 41), 'affection' (*kārikā* 37, 46 81), 'prison' (*kārikā* 273), 'bonds or chain' (*kārikā* 312 336).

In this way he builds up through similes, his definition of worldly existence (*bhāva*). In fact, a consideration of the *upameya-upamāna* is very rewarding - they are the windows into Śrī Śaṅkara's mind. A few of his major *upameya-upamāna* are being presented here, as examples:

Kārikā	Upameya	Upamāna
49	<i>bodha</i> (cognition)	= <i>agni</i> (fire)
62	<i>śabda</i> (words/language)  <i>śabda-jālaṃ</i> (web of words)	= <i>jal</i> (web/net)  = <i>mahāraṇyam</i> (great forest)
63	<i>ajñāna</i> (ignorance absence, of true knowledge)	= <i>sarpa</i> (snake)
84	<i>viśaya</i> (objects of senses)	= <i>viṣa</i> (passion)
119	<i>dayā</i> (kindness)  <i>ātma-bimba</i> (image of the self)	= <i>pīyūṣā</i> (nectar)  = <i>arka</i> (sun)

Kārikā	Upameya	Upamāna
125	māyākārya (all acts of this illusory existence)	= maru-marīcikā (mirage)
137	buddhi (intellect)	= sākṣin (witness)
138	ātman (self)	= Brahman (Universal Self) = ravi (sun) in kārikā - 509
143	mahāmoha (great infatuation)	= graha (crocodile)
147	jīva (the Principal of life)	= pakṣi (bird)
149	viveka (discri- minating faculty)	= khaṛaga (sword)
200	jīva-bhāva (fact of existence)	= svapna (dream)
233	viśva (universe)	= Brahman
310	aḥamkāra (pride-me/my consciousness)	= megha (cloud) vyāghra (tiger) in kārikā 579)
347	avidyā (wrong, invalid knowledge)	= vana (forest)
375	puruṣa (the active self)	= pakṣi (bird)
414	śarīra (body)	= chāyā (shadow)
458	kriyāye (wordly activities)	= svapna (dream)
477	Brahman (The Great Universal Self)	= śruti

In these elements of his similes and analogies we get the structure of Śrī Śaṅkara's thought.

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2. *prasidhasādharmayāt sādhyasādhanam upamānam*, *Nyāya-sūtra* 1.1.6.
3. *upamitikāraṇam upamānam. saṃjñā-saṃjñīsambhandhatva-jñānam*, *Tarkasaṃgraha* of Annam bhaṭṭa, *Upamāna-khaṇḍa*.
4. Dharendra Mohan Datta, op. cit. p. 557. For more details see Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's *Śloka-vārttika* V.7.
5. Evidently the acknowledged status of *upamāna* as an epistemology derives from the Mīmāṃsā and Advaita theory of the self-validity of knowledge (*svataḥ-prāmāṇyavāda*). Since it is not strictly within the scope of this article to explore this relationship, we make only a bare reference to this and such other issues here as a background.
6. Yāska's *Nighaṇṭu*, III.13, gives a list of particles of comparison ..... comprising twelve ways of establishing similarity which are illustrated in the *Nirukta* 1.4; III.13-18, IX.6; for example, *iva*, *na*, *chit*, *nu* which are used in *upamārtha*, meaning of similitude. In sections 3.13-18, he classifies the types of similes in the *R̥g-Veda* usages. For example he cites examples of similes in sentences, fully inflected forms, and in nominal affixes. He also gives the first minimal analysis of a simile into its three parts - the object compared, the object compared to, and the shared property (*sādharaṇa-dharma*). In III.13, Yāska quotes an earlier thinker, Gārgya, on *upamā*. Yāska's discussion in certain other sections, V.22; VII.20, IX.6, XII.8, etc., for example seem to suggest that for Yāska, *upamā* was a creative and explanatory principle. That is why even when there is no explicit simile, the meaning of the cited *mantra* is explained by him by recreating the analogy implicit in the *mantra*. Finally, the *Nighaṇṭu* principle of synonymy, also leads to the principle of similitude.



7. Some Pāṇini's rules, such as those that refer to the Gaṇapaṭha classes of *prātipadika* by the term *ādya*, are statements of analogical linguistic behaviour - they code the fact that several items behave alike. Pāṇini defines terms related to simile (in II.1.55 and II.1.56, for ex.). He also describes as a grammarian the influence of the concept of comparison on different parts of language - affixes (I.4.79 and III.1.10), compounds (II.1.7 and VI.2.11) and accent (V.1.18).
8. See Kātyāyana's *vārttikas* on Pāṇini I.3.21, II.1.55, III.1.10
9. The Cāravākas do not accept the validity of *upamāna* as a means of knowledge. The Buddhists such as Diṇṇāga take it to be a sub-type of perception. Vaiśeṣikas include it in inference. For Sāṃkhya thinkers, *upamāna* has the elements of both *śabda* and perception.
10. Mammaṭa's *Kāvya prakāśa*, ch. X. Ganganath Jha (tr.). The Indian Press, Allahabad, 1925 (revised).
11. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, R. Shamasastri (tr.). Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore, 1929.
12. See Bhāmaha's *Kāvya-lamkāra*, Nagnath Sastry (ed. and tr.). Wallace Printing House, Tanjore, 1927.
13. See Mammaṭa ch. X.

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P.V. PARABRAHMA ŚASTRY

## SIMUKA'S PLACE IN SĀTAVĀHANA CHRONOLOGY

About fifteen years back I have published some pre-Sātavāhana and early-Sātavāhana coins found at Kotalingala,<sup>1</sup> a village situated on the right bank of the river Godavari in the Karimnagar district, Andhra Pradesh. Subsequently other scholars also published several coins from the same place.<sup>2</sup> The site was excavated by the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Andhra Pradesh and gave a brief description of their findings in their *Annual Reports* for the years 1981-82 and 1983-84 and few seminar papers presented by the concerned officers. The excavators identified six layers, the depth of the lower most layer varying between 2.15 meters and 1.7 meters in many trenches and the surface being almost even, differences in contours are not recorded. The antiquities unearthed in the stratified layers included the ceramic wares, black and red, black polished, red slipped and chalcocite or tanned wares, coins and beads (glass, terracotta and faience). Basing on these finds the lower date of the site is fixed to be approximately

the post-Maurya period or the closing part of the third century B.C. On the basis of the conspicuous absence of the coins of the latter Sātavāhanas after Pulumavi I, it is assumed that the site lost its importance after the first century of the Christian era.

This is one of the early historical sites where we get a large number of coins representing, besides the punch-marked and uninscribed coins, at least twelve rulers and about 144 coins in stratified layers and more than one thousand coins on the surface.

Layer-wise occurrence of the coins in the excavation is as follows:

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1.	Punch-marked coins	5th layer and above
2.	Uninscribed coins	in all layers
3.	Coins of Gobhada	6, 3 and 1
4.	Coins of Siri Kamvāya	5 and 3
5.	Coins of Samagopa	in all layers
6.	Coins of Siri Naraga	5, 2 and 1
7.	Coins of Siri Sātavāhana	5 to 1
8.	Coins of Siri Sātakarṇi	5 to 1
9.	Coins of Chimuka Sātavāhana	3, 2 and 1
10.	Coins of Siri Pulumāvi	1 and surface
11.	Coins of Mahātalavara I	5 and surface
12.	Coins of Mahātalavara II	Surface
13.	Coins of Mahāsenāpati Sagamana	Surface
14.	Coins of Siri Vāya	Surface

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Coins of Siri Vāya (No. 14), although few, six or seven in number, exhibit all early features similar to those of Siri Kaṃvāya (No.4). Hence he is treated as an early member.

## I

The occurrence of the coin series in stratified layers as shown above, sheds new light on the chronology of the early rulers of the region, particularly the early Sātavāhanas. As the number of the coins of *siri kaṃvāya siri* is only two recorded in the excavations and they contain the little evolved symbols, he is placed after Gobhada and before Samagopa. It is strikingly noticeable that Chimuka's coins occur only in the upper layers 3, 2 and 1 whereas those of Siri Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi are found from the lower layer 5 and above indicating Simuka's later date than that of Sātavāhana and even Sātakarṇi. Now it is to be examined whether this stratigraphical sequence holds good if we take into consideration other evidences also.

Coin symbolism and paleography of the legend also support this sequence. The composite *nandipāda* symbol which appears continuously as the main reverse symbol on the coins of Kaṃvāya Siri, Siri Vāyasiri, Samagopa, and Siri Sātavāhana on some coins is reduced to a secondary symbol on the obverse by Siri Sātakarṇi. This modified form of the *nandipāda* is totally removed by Chimuka Sātavāhana who is identifiable with Simuka of the Naneghat label inscription.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, although Siri Sātavāhana adopted on some of his coins the composite *nandipāda* symbol he replaced it by composite Ujjain symbol on the reverse which was continued by Sātakarṇi and Chimuka (Simuka). The letters *sa* and *ka*

on the coins of Chimuka appear quite late when compared with those on the coins of Sātakarṇi.

Thirdly, if we consider the relieve figures (now damaged) and labels in the Naneghat cave, there is absolutely nothing which prevents us in taking Raño Simuka Sātavāhana of the first image as the son and successor of Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā. Till now scholars believe that as founder member of the family he was shown in the first place. But it can be better said that because he was the ruling king Simuka was shown in the first place. In fact he was not the founder member of the family because it is now an established fact that Siri Sātavāhana was the founder member of the family. As Sātakarṇi was no more alive at the time when the relieve figures were carved and as Nāganikā was a widow, this royal couple was not shown first. Simuka being the ruling king at that time and likely returned victorious after his historical feat of slaying Kāṇva Suśarman he was given the first place among the figures. In the larger inscription also D.C. Sircar's restoration as 'Raño Simuka Sātavāhana *sunhāya*' is to be corrected as 'Raño Simuka Sātavāhana *Mātuya*'. Simuka was the intended Śūra, Vīra, Apratihata-cakra and Dakhināpatha-pati. Those were the proclamatory records of sovereignty of both himself who could wield unopposed authority not only in the Deccan but also in the north and his deceased father Sātakarṇi who acquired great kingdom and performed the prestigious sacrifices Aśvamedha and Rājasūya for the first time in the Deccan. His son Simuka commemorated these events by causing the images of himself, his parents and brothers to be carved with labels at the instance of his mother Nāganikā.

Lastly, the *purāṇas* are not at all against this new interpretation. The narration of those editors is in relation to the Magadha throne. Accordingly, they give us an account of Nandas, Mauryas, Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas in continuity and after Suśarman, the account of Simuka and his descendants. Those editors need not consider his father Sātakarṇi and fore-father Sātavāhana in whose period Magadha was already under the Kāṇvas and some Śuṅgas. However, the *purāṇas* are not altogether silent about Simuka's parentage. The following lines in the *Kaliyugarāja-vṛttānta* reveal that Simuka was the son of Sātakarṇi.

*simukaś śātakarṇis tu yam āhur balinaṃ janāḥ/  
bhokṣyaty andhramahīm rājā trayastrimśati vatsarān//  
kṛṣṇaś śrī śātakarṇis tu bhrātā cāsyā mahāyaśāḥ/  
aṣṭādaśa samā rājā kaṇvā(rṇṇā)khyena bhaviṣyati//  
mallaś śrī śātakarṇis tu tato bhāvī samā daśa/<sup>4</sup>*

Here both Simuka and Kṛṣṇa are attributed as Sātakarṇis, which means they were the sons of Sātakarṇi. Malla was the grandson of Sātakarṇi. On the basis of the Naneghat labels we can take Simuka as his son. He was having the suffix *sātavāhana* also as seen in the label inscription and on the coins of Chimuka. The portrait gallery of the Naneghat pass represents the family members of Nāganikā, the widowed wife of Sātakarṇi. Āndhra was their *jāti*. Sātavāhana was their *kula*, as stated in the Nasik inscription of Kṛṣṇa.<sup>5</sup> Sātakarṇi was their parentage, which was borne by many members of the family. The *purāṇas* do not vitiate our new theory and on the other hand it is very specific in the *Kaliyuga-rāja-vṛttānta* that Simuka was a descendant of Sātakarṇi. That he was the son of Sātakarṇi is indicated by the Naneghat label inscription. The partly

missing label *kumāro bhaya ....* might be of Kṛṣṇa who was Sātakarṇi's second son and prince designate.

Thus, stratigraphy, numismatics, epigraphs and lastly the *purāṇas*, all reveal that Sīmuka succeeded his father Sātakarṇi.

Now, this assumption solves two important problems, viz. Sātakarṇi-Khāravēla synchronism and Simuka Kaṇva-Suśarman synchronism. According to the present surmise Sātakarṇi's date would be in the middle of the first century B.C., that is c. 60 B.C. to c. 30 B.C., because we have to reckon the post-Maurya period from c. 187 B.C. The Sungas ruled for 112 years and the Kāṇvas for 44 years, thus adding 156 years we arrive at 31 B.C. as the date of Simuka's slaying the last Kāṇva king, Suśarman. Taking this date as the last date of Sātakarṇi's career, his initial date would be c. 60 B.C. and his predecessor Siri Sātavāhana's period would be between c. 80 and c. 60 B.C. In the mid-Godavari region basing on the coin series as shown above we have to count back from 80 B.C. the regnal periods of Gobhada about 25 years, Siri Kaṁvāya about 15 years, Vāyasiri about 10 years and Samagopa about 40 years - total about 100 years, leaving some period for the issuers of the uninscribed coins we get c. 187 B.C., the date of the extinction of the Mauryas. So c. 80 B.C. would be the initial date of the independent rule of Siri Sātavāhana. Khāravēla according to his Hathigumpha inscription<sup>6</sup> ruled after 300 years of certain Nanda King. The Nanda rule is believed to have come to an end in the middle of the third century B.C. and hence Khāravēla's period can be assigned in the middle of the first century B.C. This exactly coincides with the regnal period of Sātakarṇi. Paleography of the Hathigumpha and



Naneghat inscriptions with little disparity in time and regional variations can also be assigned to the same period, instead of assigning those records to some time after Christ.

We have two initial dates for the Sātavāhana epoch which are correct in their own way.

1. About 80 B.C. Siri Sātavāhana founded his kingdom in the Deccan. This took place after the regnal periods of Gobhada. Siri Kamvāya, Siri Vāya and Samagopa in succession after the fall of Maurya authority in c. 187 B.C. The total regnal period of the said four rulers and of the issuers of at least few uninscribed coins must have been more than a hundred years. Then Siri Sātavāhana founded the Sātavāhana independent kingdom in about 80 B.C.

2. Simuka assassinated the last Kāṇva king Suśarman in about 30 B.C. The editors of the *purāṇas* narrated that story in relation to the Magadha throne, that means, upto the end of Suśarman and they did not consider the father and forefather of Simuka, who were but contemporaries of the Kāṇva and Suṅga rulers. Their aim was to give the account of the Magadha throne in continuity without describing Simuka's father and forefathers.

To conclude the order of succession, Samagopa was followed by Siri Sātavāhana, the latter by his son Sātakarṇi, who was the contemporary of Khāravela. Simuka was the son and successor of this Sātakarṇi. Thus stratigraphy, numismatics, epigraphy and the *purāṇas* all support the theory that Simuka was the son of Sātakarṇi.

## II

Recently some doubts have been expressed and objections were raised on the said conclusions<sup>7</sup> and it became necessary for me to answer those objections. Ignoring the stratigraphical data furnished by coins in a sequence in an excavated site, coupled with numismatic symbolism and the *purāṇic* statements, the Naneghat relievo figures only were taken as main ground of objection. The former three evidences are not dependable in their view. While it is true to a certain extent, there is nothing wrong in considering those sources also for ascertaining facts, and as a matter of fact, scholars are doing the same by taking into consideration the *purāṇa* statements and the coins. Anyway, we shall re-examine the Naneghat relievo figures and see whether it would be possible to overcome the objections.

Here the critics say that those figures were carved as and when the concerned personages died. Accordingly, in their view, as Sikuma's image was carved before those of the royal couple, i.e. Sātakarṇi and his wife Nāganikā, he should be taken as his (Sātakarṇi's) father Kṛṣṇa's elder brother but not in no case as the son of Sātakarṇi. Portraying the figures of living personages was taboo in their view. In support of this, they draw analogy from *Pratimānāṭaka* of the renowned poet Bhāsa, in which Prince Bharata was made to know even before reaching Ayodhyā, at Nandigrāma, about the demise of his father Daśaratha. While entering the *pratimā-gr̥ha* or *devakula*, Bharata on seeing the statues of his ancestors - Dilīpa, Raghu, Aja and his (Bharata's) father Daśaratha - raises the query whether living personages also could be represented by their statues in

a (*devakula*). The custodian replies that the statues of the deceased personages alone would be represented through their statues.<sup>8</sup>

### III

The objection based on the analogy of Bhāsa's *Pratimānāṭaka*, that Naneghat cave was a *pratimā-gr̥ha* of the Sātavāhanas is untenable. Let us now examine whether the Naneghat relief figures represent the living or dead personages or both. If the figures were only of the dead personages carved at different times, one has to wonder, as to when three *kumāras* or royal princes, likely the sons of Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā, were represented, no ruling king after Sātakarṇi, finds place with the appellation *rāya*. There remains a question mark about the king that ruled the kingdom after Sātakarṇi. The figures do not provide us with any answer, although we notice the successive demise of three princes. This clearly indicates that the process of carving the figures was not a practice spread over generations since the time of Kṛṣṇa, brother of Simuka and father of one Sātakarṇi. Some may say that Kṛṣṇa's figure and label vanished, stock and barrel from the empty space, before the figures of the royal couple. Thus, in their view as the figures of Simuka and the supposedly vanished figure of Kṛṣṇa occupy the first two places in order, they cannot be considered, as the sons of Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā, for, the two figures of the couple follow those of the two brothers. This is the main objection put forward against our theory that Simuka was the son of Sātakarṇi. But the figures are to be studied in a different way. In the first place it was not a *pratimā-gr̥ha* where the deceased personages of the royal family alone were depicted. The place, as said before, is situated on a

an important trade route and Simuka Sātavāhana, just then returned from his victorious campaign, in which he slew his Kāṇva master Suśarman and got the figures carved. The larger inscription at the same place describing the great sacrifices including Rājastūya, was intended to proclaim the newly acquired Sātavāhana sovereignty. Such victory records are generally set up in important places but not in *pratimā-grhas* or *pitṛdeva-kulas*. All those figures represent the members of the family of Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā alone as suggested by the possessive case-ending after their names, while all other labels are in nominative case-ending. One may say that possessive case indicates, as on coins, that those figures were of the personages mentioned. Then, such case-ending must also be there along with other names. Omission of that case-ending in the other five names, before and after the royal couple suggests that all these five figures represent the members of the family of the royal couple.

As regards the royal couple, Sātakarṇi passed away whereas his wife Nāganikā was alive. This is indicated by the occurrence of the figures of Nāganikā, on the right side of Sātakarṇi. According to scriptures, the departed souls would become *pitṛdevas* and it is prescribed that one should keep the *pitṛdeva* on the left (*savya*) side, which we observe, by changing the sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) to the right shoulder (*apasavya*) while offering *arghya* or *tarpaṇa* to them. But while offering the same to *Viśvedevas* we keep it as usual on the left shoulder, i.e. *savya* side. This is the general rule that we should keep the *Devas* on our right side even while circumambulating around the temples (*pradakṣiṇa*) and even elders. Yājñavalkya and other authorities on *Dharmaśāstras*, prescribe *savya* or left

side for *pitṛdevas* and right side for the *karta*.<sup>9</sup> According to Hindu Dharma a woman is to follow her husband till her death like a shadow and a man cannot be said to be completely dead, as long his wife is alive. A widowed woman has to fulfil some unfinished duties of her husband after his death.<sup>10</sup> That is how a widow if she had no progeny can adopt a boy for the continuity of the family. Her bond with her husband was inseparable. Nāganikā, in the present context wanted herself to be depicted by the side of her deceased husband Sātakarṇi who as said before, became a *pitṛdeva*, and as such his figure should be kept on the left side of her figure. This placement is perfectly correct according to the *śāstras*. We need not seek other reasons in this regard like her acting as regent for her minor son Vedisīrī and so on, which are but unconvincing. The placement is just in accordance with the rules of the *śāstras* which Nāganikā strictly observed. According to our theory, Simuka, being the son of Nāganikā and Sātakarṇi, has already become the king and there was no need for Nāganikā to act as regent for a minor prince. Historicity of Vedisīrī still remains doubtful, because the attributes used for him such as *deva*, *putrada* 'bestower of sons' and *kāmada* 'bestower of wishes' are not satisfactorily answerable. These attributes more appropriately apply to a God, in the present context to the fire altar (*vedi*) with whose grace Nāganikā begot sons and her wishes fulfilled. This point is discussed in my book, *Sātavāhana Epoch - A New Light*.

The placement of Nāganikā's figure on the right side of Sātakarṇi is in itself a positive evidence to suggest that she was alive at the time of carving the figures. At the same time it also proves that the Naneghat cave was not a *pratimā-grha* of the Sātavāhana family, where

deceased personages alone were to be portrayed. Now, without the least objection it can be said with all certainty that Nāganikā and Simuka were alive at the time of carving the figures.

As regards the other figures which are placed on the left side of Sātakarṇi although they were his sons, Simuka being the coronated king (*rāya-sirimato*) was given the preferential first place. Some vacant space is reported after his figure which was probably meant for carving figures of his brother Kṛṣṇa which disappeared stock and barrel, as some scholars believe. Then come the figures of the couple Nāganikā (*devi nayanikaya*) and her husband Sātakarṇi (*raño-sātakarṇiṇo*), both names being in possessive case. Then follow the figures of one *kumāra*, with the truncated label *kumārobhaya* might be of Kṛṣṇa, the prince designate. *Mahārathi tranakayiro*, *kumāro hakusiri* and *kumāro sati siri* all the four in nominative case. Now the problem is, when we follow the rule of left side for *pitṛdeva* how the figures of these *kumāras* (princes) likely the sons of Sātakarṇi are placed on his left side. Our answer for this arrangement is, in the first place it is not a representation of *pitṛ-kārya* like *śrāddha* 'annual ceremony', where all the sons should be on the right side of the *pitṛdeva*. This representation of the members of the Nāganikā's family was intended for the purpose of proclaiming sovereign authority of the family, as in the case of the larger inscription at the same place. Secondly, the scriptures do not impose on the sons the observance of austerities like one time diet, celibacy, etc., on all days. On *śrāddha* days only, they have to observe such restrictions. In the case of a widow only she is expected to observe such austerities for the rest of her life. The Hindu marriage bond is so rigid that a wife becomes inseparable from her

husband even after his death. This is the implied reason behind the forbidden practice of *satī* or *sahagamana*, along with the dead body of her husband. As an alternative to *sahagamana*, the scriptures prescribed observance of severe austerities for the rest of her life.<sup>11</sup> Nāganikā was a pious lady (*gr̥ha-tāpasī*) who observed such austerities like celibacy (*brahmacarya*) and month long fasting (*māsopavāsa*) as described in the larger record. So, such a lady would naturally like to be depicted along with her deceased husband Sātakarṇi, keeping the latter on her left side (*savya*) in accordance with the *śāstra* which indicates that she was inseparable from her husband even after his demise. Thus, although she is depicted on the right side of Sātakarṇi, there is nothing wrong in depicting their sons on his other side. This placement of the figures at the same time also serves the order of importance from left to right.

The larger inscription is definitely a record of proclamation of Sātavāhana sovereignty, for it refers to the performance of the prestigious sacrifices like the Rājasūya and Aśvamedha. Such victory records cannot be supposed to have been set up in a *pratimā-gr̥ha*. Its nearness to the figures at the same place is another evidence to prove that those figures were carved to proclaim the sovereignty of Sātakarṇi and Simuka. As such, there is no need to depict the figure of the ancestor Sātavāhana. It was only of affection that Nāganikā got the images of the *kumāras* or princes carved there. It is also to be noted that the entire figure gallery represents the members of the family of Nāganikā alone and Simuka cannot be an exception from that.

It is a common belief among scholars that the Sātavāhana rulers were inspired by the contemporary

foreign rulers in certain respects of issuing portrait coins. Mrs. Sobhana Gokhale is of the opinion that, as suggested by Dahajia, the western traders or Indian traders having contacts with outer world might have kindled the imagination of the Sātavāhana artists.<sup>12</sup> Like Darius who commemorated his victories on the rock overhanging the main road from Mesopotamia to Persia the Sātavāhana king Simuka the first sovereign ruler of the family might have derived inspiration to get the portrait figures of the members of his parents' family including that of himself carved at a strategic place on the trade route, i.e. Naneghat pass which was an important commercial centre. The brain behind all this, the figures and engraving of the elaborate inscription, was Nāganikā.

#### IV

Now let us examine the feasibility of identifying Sātavāhana with Simuka. On the assumption that the Naneghat cave was the *pratimāgrha* of the Sātavāhanas, in order to explain the absence of the figure of king Sātavāhana in the cave. They propose the identification of Sātavāhana with Simuka.<sup>13</sup> According to them, Sātavāhana being identical with Simuka himself, and the latter represented by the first figure carved after his passing away, cannot be treated as the son of Sātakarni and Nāganikā, who are represented by the subsequent figures. Thus they stick to the argument that Simuka founded the Sātavāhana family as stated in the purāṇas. Further their first argument is the nonmention of the king Sātavāhana's name in the purāṇas as well as in the epigraphs. In our view this cannot be a valid reason, for we have a number of coins, bearing the legend Sātavāhana. As we are accepting only numismatic



evidence for the historicity of Kumbha Sātakarṇi, Karṇa Sātakarṇi and Saka Sātakarṇi although they are not mentioned in literature and epigraphs,<sup>14</sup> we can likewise on the basis of his coins consider the king Sātavāhana as a separate member. Their second argument is that the name Sātavāhana occurs for the first time along with the name of Simuka in the label epigraph as '*rāya simuka sātavāhano sirimato*' and in the coin legend as '*raño chimuka sātavāhanasa*', and so Simuka's full name would be Simuka or Chimuka Sātavāhana. Thus in their view there is no separate king named Sātavāhana other than Simuka. Further they say that the family name *sātavāhana-kula* as mentioned in the Nasik inscription of the time of his younger brother Kṛṣṇa originated from Simuka himself.<sup>15</sup> Simuka in their view issued coins with three legends, viz. Chimuka Sātavāhana, Sātavāhana and Chimuka.

Our reply to this argument is as follows: The name *simuka sātavāhana* consists of two parts, i.e. *simuka* and *sātavāhana*. The purāṇas mention only the first part, i.e. *simuka* or its variants as his name and nowhere call him as Sātavāhana. So *simuka* or its variants must stand for his personal name. The other part, i.e. *sātavāhana* might denote his family name, which fact is supported by the said Nasik epigraph. Leaving this simple and usual way of understanding it would not be proper to go for a compound personal name as *simuka-sātavāhana*. The purāṇas simply mention his personal name. But in his official label record and in some coin legends he might have used his full name as we generally do in the official records by including our family names also. The word *simuka* or *chimuka* seems to be an indigenous word, either of old Marathi, Telugu or Kannada, as indicated by its many variants like *simuka*, *sipuka*, *chimuka*,

*chismaka*, *sindhuka* and *sisuka*, adopted by the purāṇa writers obviously while Sanskritizing or Prakritizing the original word. The import of that name is not known at present.

As regards the absence of the figures of Sātavāhana, we hold that all those figures represent the members of the family of Nāganikā alone, including Tranakayiro and hence there is no need to represent Sātavāhana. On the other hand if we have to accept the analogy of *pratimā-gr̥ha*, the absence of the figures of several other rulers of the family would be a serious lapse which needs explanation. The omission of King Sātavāhana's name in the purāṇas, as stated in my earlier book, is because of his contemporaneity with the Kāṇvas. As such for Magadha history the mention of King Sātavāhana was unnecessary.

Lastly, whether or not one accepts, we draw support from the following lines occurring in the work, though late, called *Kaliyugarāja-vṛttānta* which state that there existed a king called Sātavāhana, after whom the family was called as Sātavāhana vaṃśa.

*sēnādhyakṣas tu kānvānām sātavāhanavaṃśajah/  
simhakaś svātikarṇākhyah sipuko vṛṣalo baliḥ*<sup>16</sup>

Without going deep into the authenticity of this work, we can say that it followed certain traditional works in its narration, even before the present day researchers entered into controversies. The verse states that Sipuka (Simuka) was also Svātikarṇa, i.e. son of Sātakarṇi.

### Some incongruity:

For argument sake, if we accept the historicity of Vediśrī, he was a minor at the time of the death of his father Sātakarṇi, who ruled the Kingdom according to Prof. A.M. Shastri, for a long period of 56 years. Sātakarṇi might have ascended the throne at the age of about 20 years and died at the age of 76. At this age he had his minor son Vediśrī perhaps aged about 16 or 17 years. So we have to believe that Vediśrī was born to Sātakarṇi at the latter's age of 60 years. Further Sātakarṇi had more sons, at least three *kumāras* as depicted in the relieve figures, let alone daughters, if any. All these sons and daughters if any we have to believe to have born to Sātakarṇi in his sixties and to Nāganikā in her fifties or above that age which looks somewhat abnormal. It cannot be said that Nāganikā was not a coronated queen but other young queen of Sātakarṇi because she was a partner in performing the sacrifices. Secondly, Prof. A.M. Shastri, in his presidential address, referred to above (VII Annual conference of S.I. Numismatic Society 1997, Thrichur) states that Vediśrī set up the figures of his father Sātakarṇi and mother Nāganikā after their successive death. Perhaps he became a coronated king during the life time of Nāganikā, because she is credited to have played an important role in procuring the throne for Vedisiri (pp. 10-11). Now, we do not find his figure in the picture gallery of Naneghat. Then it is to be said that it is also damaged stock and barrel along with the figure of Kṛṣṇa. Why cannot we add likewise to this group of disappeared figures, the figure of Sātavāhana, the founder member of the family? The reason for merging king Sātavāhana with Chimuka, can thus be easily set aside.

Vediśrī's three younger *kumāras* passed away during his life time. Such a long regnal period for Vediśrī is not supported by any other source.

To Conclude:

1. Carving portrait figures of living personages was an established practice since Vālmīki's time. Rāma gets Sītā's golden image in her absence while performing the Aśvamedha sacrifice (*Uttarakāṇḍa* 91.25).
2. The Naneghat cave was not a *pratimā-gr̥ha* of the Sātavāhanas. If that was so, it must contain the figures of other descendants of the family also who succeeded Sātakarni and his sons. Further, the place Naneghat was under the control of some latter members also, and hence there is no reason why their figures are not portrayed there. The absence of their figures itself indicates that it was not a *pratimā-gr̥ha* of the family.
3. The larger inscription which describes the performance of the prestigious sacrifices - Rājasūya and Aśvamedha - was decidedly intended for proclaiming the sovereignty of the family and such a proclamatory record cannot be expected to have been set up in a *pratimā-gr̥ha*. The nearness of that proclamatory record to the carved figures in the cave indicates that the place was not a *pratimā-gr̥ha*, but a place of other importance, commercial or political, where the portraits of Nāganikā's family were carved.
4. Placing Nāganikā's figure on the right side of Sātakarni clearly indicates that she was alive at that time.

5. King Sātavāhana of the coins cannot be identified with Simuka (Chimuka), for, the purāṇas call the latter as Simuka (and its variants) but not as Sātavāhana. Hence the second part, i.e. Sātavāhana in the compound name Chimuka-(Simuka)-Sātavāhana must be taken as family name.
6. The above observations clarify the doubts raised by some scholars on the ground that the Naneghat figures alone go against our view. The figures do not go against our view that Simuka was the son of Sātakarpi and Sātavāhana was the founder member of the family.
7. It is also to be noted that the entire figure gallery represents the members of the family of Nāganikā alone and Simuka cannot be an exception from that family. Simuka was her son, most likely the eldest.
8. Historicity of Vediśrī remains doubtful till we can satisfactorily interpret the attributes *deva*, *dhanada*, *putrada* and *kāmada* used for him, or Vediśrī might have been a secondary name for Simuka himself.

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5. D.C. Sircar, op.cit., No. 75, pp. 189ff.
6. Ibid. pp. 213ff.
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8. *Pratimānāṭaka* of Bhāsa, Act. II.
9. Yājñavalkya: *apasavyaṃ tataḥ kṛtvā pitṛṇām apradakṣiṇam*, *Śrāddha-prakarāṇa*, V.16.  
(After doing arcana to the Viśvedevas one should do arcana to the pitṛdevas changing the sacred thread to the apasavya (right) shoulder and apradakṣiṇa (anticlockwise direction).)
10. *Great Women of India*, Almora, 1953, p. 45.
11. cf. Manu:  
(a) *brahmacaryaṃ cared vāpi praviśed vā hutāśanam/*  
(b) *sā punaḥ prāpya bhartāraṃ svargalokaṃ samaśnute/*  
as quoted in *Nirṇayasindhu* under *Sahagamana*.
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SADASHIV A. DANGE

## RGVEDA AND THE BUFFALO-SACRIFICE?

The position of the buffalo (*mahiṣa*) in the Vedic ritual tradition is unique, in the sense that it has been recognised as the norm of strength; and, yet, it was never sacrificed to any deity. The word 'sacrificed' is to be particularly noted. An ordinary killing and eating is different from killing at a rite and partaking of the flesh of the sacrificed beast; such is not the case with the buffalo. From the point of power, important gods are compared with the buffalo. They include Agni, Soma, Indra and even Aśvins.<sup>1</sup> The goddess Vāc identified with the Uttaravedi is said to be both lioness and she-buffalo (*mahiṣī*). It is of some interest to note that, in Sanskrit literature – which reflects the practice current among the people, the human king is rarely denoted as *mahiṣa*, though his chief queen is termed *mahiṣī*, which has also been the Vedic practice. In a suggestive symbolism, the Uttaravedi (situated to the east) is addressed as lioness and *mahiṣī* (Taitt.Sam. I.2.12.1; VI.2.7.15). In all such places the power-aspect of the *mahiṣa* is at work. As for the sacrifice of the buffalo, as is found

in the case of the Devī in the post-Vedic period, the Vedic texts are silent; because, there was no such practice among the Vedic people. It is not to deny that the killing and cooking of the buffalo is not mentioned in the Vedic context. Though it is never mentioned in the post-Ṛgvedic Vedic texts, the *Ṛgveda* alludes to this practice; but, it is only in the context of Indra's victory. Thus, after the battle with the roaring 'serpent', Vṛtra, a hundred buffaloes were cooked for Indra (RV. VI.17.11). He is also said to have eaten (or killed: *aghaḥ*)<sup>2</sup> a thousand (*sahasram*) buffaloes (VIII.12.8.). Viṣṇu is said to have brought to Indra a hundred buffaloes and milk-cooked rice (*kṣīrapākam odanam*), when the latter seized Emuṣa, who was his enemy. These references could hardly be taken to mean, that Indra alone devoured the multitude of buffaloes. These have to be taken as indicating a general feast after war, or a great battle; and, in this all his helpmates (read, soldiers) participated. Also, *śatam* and *sahasram* could not be taken to indicate the exact number of buffaloes killed for the feast; the words are indicative of just a 'large number'. When it comes to Indra, himself, offering a buffalo (*mahiṣam mṛgam*) and cooking it, it is only for his 'mother' and 'father' (VIII.69.15), whosoever they may be. Indra's father and mother are not clearly defined and identified. The father cannot be Tvaṣṭṛ, as is generally believed; because, he is the 'general' father of all the gods. He is, rather, Indra's mythological 'father'; but, actually, socio-historically, he is the senior adversary who has to be defeated for Indra's deification. The point is, Indra was never a god, in the real sense of the word.<sup>3</sup> He was god, as Rāma was (and has been, since,) a god, and also as Kṛṣṇa was such. Or, as was the ancient Egyptian king Zaru, or as Alexander,



the Great, would have been a god — but could never achieve godhood.<sup>4</sup> There is no other reference to the killing of a single buffalo. And, it is doubtful if the *mahiṣa* in this context (*mahiṣam mṛgam*) is the buffalo. It is more likely, that the main beast is indicated by the term *mṛga* while *mahiṣa* is the epithet suggestive of greatness, the whole image reverting to the power aspect. Moreover, the context shows that the whole image is of the dark waterful cloud seen as the big beast; because, in the same breath, Indra is said to have 'broken' open the moist nourishment (*odanam*), which is a typical rain-symbol in the Ṛgvedic imagery (cf. X.123.4). It is, thus, clear, that there is no reference to the killing of a single buffalo in the *Ṛgveda* — far less as a ritual act. The many buffaloes that are referred to be killed and cooked are not for a god at a regular ritual; they are in connection with the war-feast. They certainly indicate the eating of the flesh of the buffalo by the unpriestly class. But, they cannot be mistaken as at a sacred ritual. In other words, this act was never a sacrament; hence, there was no sacrificial killing of the buffalo. As such, even in the latter Vedic ritual texts the sacrifice of a buffalo is never mentioned.

The necessity of the observation, that the Vedic literature does not have, nor does it attest, the sacrifice of the buffalo, is in view of the opinion of Asko Parpola<sup>5</sup> that the *Mahiṣāsura-mardini* myth, and the later tradition of the buffalo being sacrificed to her, is initiated in the Vedic tradition under the influence of the *Vrātyas* whose rituals the Vedic people incorporated. This is no place to go into all the arguments and suggestion of Parpola. (The present author has done so and has examined them elsewhere.<sup>6</sup>) However, it will be proper to touch the most important of the arguments which

concerns the present purpose. Referring to the ritual at the Rājasūya sacrifice wherein : (i) A tiger-skin is laid on the ground; upon it a piece of lead is placed; (ii) This piece is said to be the 'head of Namuci'; (iii) Indra kicks away the piece and, according to a myth related in this context, a demon springs forth. Parpola sees here the rudiment of the detail in the later Maḥiṣāsura-mardini myth, where from the body of the buffalo, killed by the Devī, the demon Maḥiṣa comes out. Parpola thinks that here there is just an inversion of the later myth ('inversion' is not the word used by Parpola; it is a rather technical term from the context of the study of myths). He feels that the king, who is a human aspect of Indra, acts as the Devī. Thus, according to him, the equation is:

Indra (= king) is the Vedic aspect of the later Devī; and Namuci, the demon, is the suggested Maḥiṣa (buffalo).

There is no necessity to meet this argument. It is sufficient to say that, in myths, similar motifs do not attest sameness of the ultimate meaning; and far less the sameness of characters. The point is, that we just do not have the mention of the buffalo and its sacrifice – or, the buffalo-demon and his killing by Indra. We have already noted how the cooking of buffaloes does not prove ritual killing, or offering at a rite. Parpola cites another ritual and a myth associated with it from the *Vadhūla-Śrauta-sūtra*.<sup>7</sup> According to it, Prajāpati runs after Vāc, who wants to escape from his lustful clutches. They take various forms. Finally, Prajāpati sees that Vāc entered the mouth of the Puruṣa. Vāc sees him approaching; so, she makes the teeth of the Puruṣa her protective walls (*purah*); and watches Prajāpati's move. Now, Prajāpati

takes the form of the rice-porridge (*odana*). To attract Vāc he decorates himself (covers himself) in that form with melted butter (*ghee*). Vāc cannot control herself and swallows the ghee-smeared porridge, which is nothing but Prajāpati. In this state of Vāc, behind the *puraḥ*, Parpola sees Durgā (the deity of the mountains). And, in this ritual and in the myth, he sees the following equations:

Prajāpati = porridge; Vāc = tongue = Durgā.

Prajāpati swallowed = Mahiṣa sacrificed.

So, he suggests that Prajāpati is the earlier one whose later version is Mahiṣa; because, both are sacrificed to, and eaten by, the female deity. Here again, the difficulty about this argument is that it sees the form but not the pattern – of both the ritual and the myth. Here, and in another example (which Parpola has not taken) where a male victim is sacrificed to Sarasvatī, in her aspect of Vāc who is said to have sustained Prajāpati, one might as well say that there is a base for believing the male victim to be Mahiṣa (though here it is a goat) and Sarasvatī the Devī (Śat.Br. III.9.1.7). But, the pattern of the Devī myth and ritual shows that, in it the buffalo(= demon) and the Devī are not only juxtaposed in a sexual tie as a suitor (soliciting lover) and the desired female; the buffalo is on a lower level than the Devī. In the Prajāpati-Vāc relationship both are on the same divine level. Moreover, the Prajāpati-Vāc myth is only a version of the Prajāpati-Daughter myth; and the demon Mahiṣa is never said to be the father of the Devī. Further, the sacrifice in the Vedic context is never associated with the offering of the head, or blood, which are prominent features in the ritual of the Devī and the buffalo. Yet further, the motif of ‘swallowing’

does not indicate 'murder' as the meaning, as Parpola proposes.<sup>8</sup> It suggests oneness, as is clear from a number of such cases. This will show that the sacrifice of a buffalo is never indicated in the Vedic texts. Buffalo-sacrifice was a unique rite among the non-Vedic people who, later fused with the Vedic; and there is no ground to believe (as Parpola proposes variously), that it was present among the early Vedic people, but that every trace of it has been wiped out by the Brāhmaṇa texts because the buffalo was associated with the enemies of the Vedic people, and that these later texts show a deliberate discrimination, of the later conservative priests, against the buffalo.

### REFERENCES

1. Indra I.121.2; II.22.1; III.46.2; IV.18.11; X.54.4. etc.; Agni I.95.9; I.141.3; X.8.1. etc.; Soma IX.82.3; IX.86.40; IX.95.4; IX.113.3, etc. Aśvinan X.106.2; for *mahiṣa-mṛga* as a cloud see also X.123.4.
2. cf. L.D. Barnett, *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, London, 1922, p. 28.
3. Sayana takes it, alternatively from  $\sqrt{\text{ghas}}$ , 'to eat'.
4. See, for Zaru, Donald Mackenzie, *Egyptian Myth and Legend*, Gresham and Co., London. p. 36; for Alexander, see Peter Green, *Alexander of Macedon*. University of California Press, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1991. p. 164. 314.
5. Parpola, Asko, "The Metamorphosis of Mahiṣa Asura and Prajāpati", in: *Ritual, State and History in South India* (Essays in honour of J.C. Heesterman), ed. A.W. van Den Hock and others, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1992, pp. 276-295.
6. Dange, Sadashiv A., *Towards Understanding Hindu Myth*. Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1996, pp. 440-466.
7. Parpola, op.cit. p. 287f.

8. cf. Swallowing of Kaca by Sakra-acārya: of Śukra by Śiva; sometimes, swallowing gives place to keeping the male in the vagina by a female power, say of Śukrācārya by the Kṛtyā; for these see Dange, Sadashiv A., *Legends in the Mahābhārata*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1969, p. 171ff. - esp. 183ff; or his, *Myths from the Mahabharata*, vol.I, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1997, p. 160ff.



M. SRIMANNARAYANA MURTI

## VĀGYOGA OF THE GRAMMARIAN

Falling in line with the Vedic tradition, the grammarians of the Pāṇinian school have elevated the status of Vāk - the common nomenclature of the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit<sup>1</sup> - to the position of Brahman just as the Mīmāṃsakas have risen *yajña* to the position of god (*devatā*). Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* quotes several expressions - words, phrases and sentences - from the sacrificial and the nonsacrificial Vedic literatures<sup>2</sup> as illustrations to sūtras as well as to the canons of the grammarian. For example Patañjali quotes the Vedic passage of an unidentified source: *ekaḥ śabdaḥ samyag jñātaḥ śāstrānvitaḥ suprayuktaḥ svarge loke kāmadhug bhavati*<sup>3</sup> and the non-Vedic Bhrāja verse:<sup>4</sup>

*yas tu prayunkte kuśalo viśeṣe  
śabdān yathāvad vyavahārakāle/  
so 'nantam āpnoti jayaṃ paratra  
vāgyogavid duṣyati cāpaśabdaiḥ//*

Thus Bhartṛhari treats Vyākaraṇa as a Smṛti, an Āgama and a Śāstra.<sup>5</sup>

Taking advantage of the rise of different philosophical speculations of other schools,<sup>6</sup> Pāṇinians could forge ahead the Grammar as a potential school of philosophy based on the upaniṣadic thought by updating it through assimilation and synthesis of several philosophical trends. Further Patañjali and Bhartṛhari could foreshadow several doctrines of Kumārila, Prabhākara, Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, etc.<sup>7</sup> This evidently demands that all the linguistic theories of Bhartṛhari should be read against philosophical affiliations.

In the historical perspective we see that the final goal of human aspirations is fulfilment of desires and success in Svarga according to Patañjali<sup>8</sup> and realization of Śabda-brahman according to Bhartṛhari.<sup>9</sup> The metamorphosis is natural and in line with the convention of the grammarian. Grammar is the direct means for the Pāṇinian to know the *Veda* and the *Veda* in its turn the final goal.<sup>10</sup> Thus knowing the meaning of word or using the language uniting the word and the meaning correctly is the means to attain the final goal. Thus uniting the word with its meaning is *vāgyoga* and the *vāgyogavit* shall certainly obtain liberation.

In order to justify the union of the speech with its sense, and also to account for the objects of the world known through language the grammarian has evolved two concepts, namely *bauddhapadārtha* and *vivarta*. Accordingly the referent of a word is only what is conceived by the speaker and what is comprehended by the listener. This conceptual object or referent in its turn is connected with the objects of the world.<sup>11</sup> This is called *pratibhā*, a technical name for the 'intuition' (*bhāvanā*) and a 'flash of understanding'. This flash of understanding is indeed the meaning of word or sentence.<sup>12</sup> So it is



immaterial even if a corresponding object does not exist, as for the words *vandhyāputra* and *gaganakusuma*, which give rise to some cognition without a corresponding object in the mundane world. A speaker may also use a word or a sentence in the sense of another either intentionally or erroneously, but this does not obliterate the function of language.<sup>13</sup> Extending the same analogy the whole mundane world can be of no relevance with reference to the Brahman or Śabda-brahman at the stage of liberation. Then the world is nothing but an appearance just as *śāśaviśāṇa*. This appearance is called *vivarta*. As Bhartṛhari defines, appearance means the assumption of one thing as something else without losing its inherent nature, through apparent diversity of different unreal forms.<sup>14</sup> It is like the appearance in a dream. So the cognition of the worldly objects as worldly objects is invalid and false as this knowledge does not help to obtain the goals of life. It becomes valid only when the worldly objects are seen as the appearance of the Brahman and with reference to the Brahman they are transitory and unreal. When this knowledge arises it becomes true, the knowledge par excellence and infinite as declared by the *Mahāvākya*: *satyaṃ jñānam anantaṃ brahma* (TU. 2.2). Therefore liberation lies in the comprehension of the worldly objects as appearance of the unchangeable Brahman. So according to Bhartṛhari liberation (*mokṣa*) is nothing but the experience of identity of the self (which is of the essence of knowledge) with the Brahman through the knowledge of the true nature of the eternal Brahman.<sup>15</sup>

The knowledge of the eternal Brahman is obtainable according to the Pāṇinian by understanding the true nature of the language which consists of sentences, words and articulated sounds. When the word

referent is conceptual and of consciousness, and the corresponding empirical objects of the mundane world are appearance, to stand in proportion, the sentence or the word should also be conceptual and of consciousness, and the articulated sounds an appearance. Taking clue from Patañjali's definition of *dhvani*,<sup>16</sup> Bhartṛhari calls the conceptual word *sphoṭa* and the articulated speech sounds *nāda* or *dhvani*.<sup>17</sup> *Dhvani* is again distinguished as *prākṛta-dhvani* and *vaikṛta-dhvani*, on the basis of two discernible stages in the process of externalization. The sentence or word is externalized in three stages. In the first stage sentence bursts forth in an indistinct and indivisible way in the mind of the speaker soon after an idea flashes to be communicated to his listener.<sup>18</sup> This burst of sentence is called *sphoṭa*. In the second stage the indivisible sentence takes in the mind of the speaker a pattern with a specific divisible sequence. Thus it gets the distinction of duration called short (*hrasva*), long (*dirgha*) and extra-long (*pluta*) and it is called *prākṛta-dhvani*.<sup>19</sup> In the third stage, the sentence is externalized into speech sounds through articulation. It also gets the distinction of rapidness (*druta*), medium (*madhya*) and slowness (*vilamba*) and it is called *vaikṛta-dhvani*.<sup>20</sup> When the *sphoṭa* bursts forth by the *vaikṛta-dhvani* and *prākṛta-dhvani* the *pratibhā* as a flash of understanding arises in the mind of the listener.<sup>21</sup> In fact the concept of *sphoṭa* as a bearer of sentence meaning is introduced as a concomitant to maintain the indivisibility of the sentence sense. So just as the meaning of the sentence flashes in the mind of the speaker before the *sphoṭa* bursts, the *sphoṭa* bursts in the mind of the listener before the flash of meaning. If the *dhvani* following the *sphoṭa* in the case of speaker and preceding in the case of listener were to be true the *sphoṭa* would also

be divisible and changing (*pariṇāma*) from one stage to the other. Bhartṛhari resorts to *vivarta* theory and holds that the divisibleness of *spṛṇṇa* in the *prākṛta* and *vaikṛta dhvani* levels is a mere appearance.<sup>22</sup> Just as the reflection of the moon in water appears as moving because of the movement of water, the indivisible *spoṭaśabda* appears to have divisibility, duration and speed.<sup>23</sup>

In the empirical level the language and also the world which it describes are to be examined to arrive at the truth of our existence. Bhartṛhari starts with the axiom that one should reach truth by treading the untruth path.<sup>24</sup> Thus as a linguist the grammarian describes the relationship of the word with the lexical meaning, the syntactic, semantic, morphological, phonological and phonetic features of language by rules (*sūtra*), riders (*vārtika*) and reminders (*jñāpaka*).<sup>25</sup> And as a metaphysicist he accounts for the evolution of the universe from the *prākṛta-dhvani*, the earliest level from which the investigation can be made. Thus Bhartṛhari says that the whole universe is evolved out of *chandas* (i.e. the *prākṛta-dhvani*).<sup>26</sup>

The *vāk* is the origin of every thing.<sup>27</sup> We see that our knowledge of every thing in the universe is intertwined with the word.<sup>28</sup> Further when we cognise an object through the word, our cognition takes the form of identity. Thus the object is really not different from the word. In other words it is the word which has become the object. Therefore we cannot cognise an object through the word, without cognising the word.<sup>29</sup> All the manifestations of the Brahman are intertwined with the word, and so the Brahman must be of the nature of the word. Brahman is consciousness, the word as well as

its meaning is consciousness; the Brahman is nothing but the word and its meaning.<sup>30</sup>

The expressive word *sphoṭa* and the flash of understanding *pratibhā* are thus related to the principal cause of creation called Śabdatattva or Śabdabrahman. The Śabdabrahman is indivisible with *vidyā* as its principal capacity. But because of *avidyā* 'the empirical science', another capacity of the same Brahman the whole universe appears as existing and real.<sup>31</sup> So the grammarian accepts to describe the empirical world as it appears and then reverts to the real nature of it with reference to liberation.

The realization of the identity of the *pratibhā* with the *sphoṭa* is liberation. The comprehension of the Vedic sentences together with the aroused residual traces of *śabda* (*śabdabhāvanā*) acquired previously leads the individual to realize the knowledge reaching its climax in the Omniscient.<sup>32</sup> Thus Bhartṛhari holds that the realization of the Brahman is not spontaneous.<sup>33</sup> It is graded and should be grown by the spiritual merit (*dharma*), through strict observance of the injunctions of *āmnāya*. Therefore the *āmnāya* produces *dharma* and the latter in its turn the *jñāna*.<sup>34</sup>

The word *āmnāya* 'that which is to be learnt by repetition, sacred texts handed down by mouth' may mean not only the sacrificial Vedic texts known to us but also the lost Vedic recensions and the nonsacrificial Āgamic works<sup>35</sup> grown parallel with the former texts; for, we find several citations in the commentary of Bhartṛhari the sources of which cannot be decided. For example the sources are not known for the following citations quoted by Bhartṛhari in connection with *vāgyoga*:

1. *vedābhyāsāt varam āntaram śuklam ajaram jyotis  
tasminn evāpāre tamasi vīte vivartate, Vākyapadīya  
(= VP), I.5.*
2. *vāg evārtham paśyati vāg bravīti  
vāg evārtham nihitam santanoti/  
vācy eva viśvam bahurūpaṃ nibaddham  
tad etad ekaṃ pravibhajyopabhuṅkte// VP. I.110.*
3. *vāg eva viśvā bhuvanāni jajñe  
vāca it sarvam amṛtaṃ yac ca martyam/  
athed vāg bubhuje vāg uvāca  
purutrā vāco na paraṃ yac ca nāha// VP. I.112.*
4. *vācaḥ saṃskāram ādhāya  
vācam jñāne niveśya ca/  
vibhajya bandhanāny asyāḥ  
kṛtvā tāṃ chinnabandhanām// VP. I.123.*

Therefore it can be said in conclusion that the grammarian is the earliest metaphysicist to treat the 'science of being' exclusively on the basis of language and hence this school of philosophy and its philosopher can rightly be described by *vāgyoga* or *śabdayoga*<sup>36</sup> and *vāgyogavit* or *śabdavit*<sup>37</sup> respectively. Thus Ānandavardhana rightly calls the grammarian *śabdatattvavit*.<sup>38</sup>

## REFERENCES

1. M. Srimannarayana Murti, 'On the Nomenclature Saṃskṛta', *Adyar Library Bulletin*, vol. 57, 1993, pp. 58-71.
2. The Vedic texts, in particular the Brāhmaṇa portions, as available to us deal mainly with sacrifices (*yajña-s*) and the sacrificers (*yājñika-s*). Besides these *yājñika-s* there are others like *vātaraśanas*, *śramaṇas* and *vaikhānasas* who were practicing non-sacrificial Vedic rituals. These non-sacrificial Vedic rituals were reabsorbed in the Āraṇyaka rituals and temple worship. See: M. Srimannarayana Murti, Introduction to the

Kainkaryaratnāvali, S.V.U. Oriental Series 26, Tirupati, 1993 (= SVUOJ. vol. 29).

3. *Mahābhāṣya* (= MB), 6.1.84, vol. 3, p. 58 (BORI edn.).
4. *ibid.* 1.1.1, vol. 1, p. 2.
5. Vyākaraṇa is called *sāstra* because it contains several rules enjoining different grammatical operations. It is called *smṛti* because it is a work based on the experience of knowledge obtained in the Vedas. Thirdly it is called *āgama* for it is based on tradition which has come down through generations and known from the sacrificial as well as the nonsacrificial Vedic texts. Hence we find the mention of *āgama* as a separate item in Patañjali's statement: *rakṣohāgamalaghvasaṃdehah̐ prayojanam*, MB. 1.1.1, p. 1.
6. *ācāryā hi parasminn akramo 'ntaḥsaṃniveśini śabdatattve pratyadhikaraṇam āgamabhedaparigraheṇa bhinnāni darśanāni śrītaḥ sāstravyavahāram anugacchanti, Vākyapadīya* (= VP), I.74, *Vṛtti*. Ed. K.A. Subramania Iyer, Deccan College Monograph Series, Poona, 1966.  
*tatra kaḥ panthā na śakya āsthātum iti saṃvyavahārārtham sarvāṇi darśanāny āśrītaḥ, Paddhati* of Vṛṣabhadeva on *ibid.*
7. Even though Bhartṛhari did not mention by name in his *Vākyapadīya*, he dealt with the *abhihitānvaya* and *anvitābhīdhāna* theories of sentence of Kumārila and Prabhākara in the second and third *kāṇḍas*. Prabhākara criticises the theory of *vivarta* in his *Bṛhatī* in very strong terms; cf. *kasyāyaṃ vivartaḥ kasya ca śrotrādaya upādhitām āpadyante? tasmād viḍaṃbanaiṣā 'vivartate 'rthabhāvena' iti, Bṛhatī* on *Mīmāṃsādarśana*, 1.1.5.5, p. 160 (Madras University edn.). Even though Śaṅkara does not accept the philosophy of Bhartṛhari he recognizes the linguistic theory of the grammarians and records it in the *Devatādhikaraṇa* under the rule: *śabda iti cen nātaḥ prabhavāt pratyakṣānumānābhyām* (BS. 1.3.28). For Śaṅkara the *sphoṭa* is a valid linguistic theory and it has nothing to do with *mokṣa*. We also find similarities in diction; cf. *tathā hi - kaiścid abhiyuktair yatnenotprekṣitās tarkā abhiyuktatarair ābhāsyamānā dṛśyante, Brahmasūtra-Śaṅkarabhāṣya* on BS. 2.1.11 with  
*yatnenānumito 'py arthaḥ kuśalair anumātr̥bhīḥ/ abhiyuktatarair anyair anyathaivopapādyate// VP. I.34.*

The approbation of the Advaitins is further confirmed by Prakāśātman who adapts Bhartṛhari's definition of vivarta in his *Pañcapādikā-vivaraṇa* - *Varṇaka* 5; cf. Bhartṛhari's definition: *ekasya tattvād apracyutasya bhedānukāreṇāsatyavi-bhaktānyarūpopagrāhitā vivartaḥ* (*Vṛtti* on VP. I.1) with Prakāśātman's definition: *ekasya tattvād apracyutasya pūrva-viparītāsatyānekarūpāvabhāso vivartaḥ*, Śrī Padmapādācārya's *Pañcapādikā with commentaries*, ed. by S. Subrahmanya Sastri, Mahesh Research Institute, Varanasi, 1992, *Varṇaka* 5, p. 532. Yāmūnācārya in his *Siddhitraya* (p. 6. Banaras edn.) includes the name of Bhartṛhari in the list of philosophers. Rāmānuja adapts the grammarian's definition of collocation: 'bhinnapravṛttinimittānām śabdānām ekasminn arthe vṛttis sāmānādhikarāṇyam' *iti hi tadvidāḥ. Vedārthasaṃgraha* (p. 24, Ramakrishna Ashrama, Mysore, 1956).

8. so 'yam akṣarasamāmnāyo vāksamāmnāyaḥ puspitaḥ phaliṭas caṇdratāraḥ pratinidānīto veditavyo brahmarāśiḥ. sarva-vedapuṇyaphalāvāptiś cāsyā jñāne bhavati. mātāpitarau cāsyā svarge loke mahīyate, MB.1.1.1, p. 36.
9. tasmād yaḥ śabdasaṃskāraḥ sā siddhiḥ paramātmanaḥ/  
tasya pravṛttitattvajñas tad brahmāmṛtam ānute// VP. I.123.
10. VP. I.14-16.
11. śabdapramāṇakā vyaṃ yac chabda āha tad asmākam  
pramāṇam, MB. 1.1.1, p. 11.  
kāmaṃ atideśyatām vā sac cāsac cāpi neha bhāro 'sti/  
kalpyo hi vākyāśeṣo vākyam vaktary adhīnam hi//  
ibid. 1.1.57, p. 147.  
yo vārtho buddhiviśayo bāhyavastunibandhanaḥ/  
sa bāhyavastv iti jñātaḥ śabdārthaḥ kaiś cid iṣyate //  
VP. II.132.(Ed. by Raghunātha Śarmā, Sarasvatī-  
bhavanagranthamālā 91, Varanasi 1980).  
tathāhi - buddhyā nirūpītavastuviśayāḥ śabdāḥ, Helārāja's  
*Prakīrṇaprakāśa* on VP. III.Sambandha.39 (ed. by K.A. Subra-  
mania Iyer, Deccan College Monograph Series 21, Poona 1963,  
1973).
12. vicchedagrahaṇe 'rthānām pratibhānyaiva jāyate /  
vākyārtha iti tām āhuḥ padārthair upapāditam // VP. II.143.

Bhartṛhari remarks that the true nature of *pratibhā* remains inexplicable (*anākhyeya*) to others and even the experiencer cannot account for it even to himself (VP. II.144).

13. M. Srimannarayana Murti, 'Intention of the Speaker', S.V.U. Oriental Journal, vol. 30-31, pp. 21-33.

14. *ekasya tattvād apracyutasya bhedānukāreṇāsatyavibhaktānyarūpopagrāhitā vivartaḥ*, VP. I.1, Vṛtti.

Of the two types of causation called *pariṇāma* and *vivarta*, the former is objective (i.e. the change has come within the object like milk changes into curd) and the latter is subjective (i.e. the object remains unchanged but is cognised as something else because of the presence of factors obstructing correct cognition as rope is cognised as snake in dusk). As the grammarian holds what flashes in the mind as the sense of a word, he naturally advocates the *vivarta* theory.

15. *ātmarūpaṃ yathā jñāne jñeyarūpaṃ ca dṛśyate/ artharūpaṃ tathā śabde svarūpaṃ ca prakāśate//* VP. I.50.  
*api prayoktur ātmānaṃ śabdāntar avasthitam / prāhur mahāntam ṛṣabhaṃ yena sāyujyam iṣyate //* ibid. 122.

16. Patañjali uses the word *sphoṭa* in his commentary on the rule: *taparas tatkālasya*, MB.1.1.70, p. 181: *sphoṭas ca tāvān eva bhavati dhvanikṛtā vṛddhiḥ*.

*dhvaniḥ sphoṭas ca śabdānāṃ dhvanis tu khalu lakṣyate/ alpo mahāṃś ca keṣāṃcid ubhayaṃ tatsvabhāvataḥ//*

He refers to the concepts of *dhvani* and *sphoṭa* in his explanation of *śabda*: *yenoccāritena sāsnaṅgūlakakudakhuraviṣāṇināṃ sampratyayo bhavati sa śabdaḥ. athavā pratītapadārthako loke dhvaniḥ śabda ucyate*, MB. 1.1.1, p.1. Bhartṛhari interprets the passage as: *sphoṭaḥ śabdo dhvanis tasya vjāyāma upajāyate*, *Mahābhāṣya-dīpikā* on ibid., p. 4 (BORI edn.) and repeats this in his Vṛtti on VP. I.23.

17. *dvāv upādānaśabdeṣu śabdau śabdavido viduḥ/ eko nimittaṃ śabdānāṃ aparō 'rthe prayujyate //* VP. I.44.

18. *vitarkitaḥ purā buddhyā kvacid arthe niveṣitaḥ/ karaṇebhyo vivṛttena dhvaninā so 'nugṛhyate//* ibid. I.47.  
*avikriyādharmakam hi śabdatattvaṃ dhvaniṃ vikriyādharmānam anu vikriyate, Vṛtti thereon.*

19. *svabhāvabhedān nityatve hrasvādīrghapluṭādiṣu/ prākṛtasya dhvaneḥ kālaḥ śabdasyopacaryate//* ibid. I.76.



20. *dhvanayaḥ samupohante sphoṭātmā tair na bhidyate/  
śabdasyordhvam abhivyakter vṛttibhedam vaikṛtāḥ*// ibid. I.77.
21. These three stages in the process of communication are called by two sets of self-explanatory names, each of which describes a particular characteristic feature; *paramopāṃśu*, *upāṃśu* and *saṃhṛtakrama* (VP.II.19 and *Vṛtti* thereon and *paśyanti*, *madhyamā* and *vaikhari* (VP. I.134) are the two sets of names corresponding to *sphoṭa*, *prākṛta-dhvani* and *vaikṛta-dhvani* respectively.
22. *nādasya kramajanmatvān na pūrvo na paraś ca saḥ/  
akramaḥ kramarūpeṇa bhedavān iva jāyate*// VP. I.48.
23. *pratibimbaṃ yathānyatra sthitaṃ toyakriyāvaśāt/  
tatpravṛttim ivānveti sa dharmāḥ sphoṭanādayoḥ*// ibid. I.49.
24. *asatye vartmani sthitvā tataḥ satyaṃ samīhate*// ibid. III. *Vṛtti*. 238.

See fn. 31 below for the significance of *satya* and *a-satya*.

25. cf. *vākyasyārthāt padārthānām apoddhāre prakalpīte/  
śabdāntareṇa sambandhaḥ tasyaikasyopapadyate*// ibid. II.269.
  26. *śabdasya pariṇāmo 'yam ity āmnāyavidō viduḥ/  
chandobhya eva prathamam etad viśvaṃ vyavartata*// ibid. I.112.
- Chandas is concerned with the distribution and duration of vowels. Thus it is concerned with *prākṛta-dhvani*.
27. VP. I.1.

The *Chāndogyopaniṣad* is the earliest record philosophizing the multiplicity as having its origin in speech (*vācārambhaṇaṃ vikāraḥ*, 6.1.4) and holding the inquiry into the language as a means to obtain the knowledge of reality.

Śaṅkara also corroborates that the realization of the Brahman is accomplished at the end of the inquiry into the meaning of sentences (of sacred texts like the *upaniṣads*) and is not accomplished by any other means of valid knowledge like inference; cf. *vākyārthavicāraṇādhyavasānanirvṛttā hi brahmāvagatiḥ nānu-mānādipramāṇāntaranirvṛttā*, BS. 1.1.2.

28. *na so 'sti pratyayo loke yaḥ śabdānugamād ṛte/  
anuviddham iva jñānaṃ sarvaṃ śabdena bhāṣate*// ibid. I.115.
29. The grammarian's advocacy of the word as the cause of the world is akin to the *upaniṣadic* theory of *prāṇa* as the cause of objects of cognition through sensory organs in the *Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa-upaniṣad*, III.3. Further as *prāṇa* 'breath' is

abstract it cannot be contemplated as an object of meditation (*upāsana*). So it has to be known only through the manifested form of breath, which is nothing but the articulated speech for being produced during exhalation; cf. *prāṇo 'smi prajñāt mānaṃ mām āyur amṛtam ity upāsvāyuh prāṇaḥ.... prāṇena hy evāsmimloke 'mṛtam āpnoti*, *ibid.* III.3. Thus even though Śaṅkarācārya in his *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*, 1.1.31 takes *prāṇa* as referring to the Brahman, an Advaitic commentator Nārāyaṇa holds that the meditation of breath is accomplished by meditating upon the speech sounds *om* and *atha* as they are the first ostensible manifestations of the breath and also considered as auspicious in the *purāṇas* (cf. S.R.Matha (ed), 'Jñanamālā of Nāgara Nārāyaṇa', *S.V.U. Oriental Journal*, XXV, 1983, p. 5).

Further *prāṇa* and *prajñā* mentioned in the above passage of the *Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa-upaniṣad* are comparable to *spṛṣṭa* and *pratibhā* respectively. One commentator Appayācārya of the Anubhavādvaitha school holds that liberation lies in the experience of identity between *prāṇa* and *prajñā*, and that it is similar to the *Layayoga* of the Hāṭhayogins (cf. S.R. Matha, *A Critical Study of the Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇa-upaniṣad with its available Commentaries*, pp. 162, 188, S.V. University, 1998). But because of break in the philosophical tradition of the grammarians, Bhartṛhari's views are not reappraised time and again with necessary modifications as in the post-Śaṅkara Classical Advaita.

30. *vāgrūpatā ced utkrāmed avabodhasya śāśvatī/ na prakāśaḥ prakāśeta sā hi pratyavamarśinī*// *ibid.* I.116.
31. The opposite pairs *satya* : *a-satya* and *vidyā* : *a-vidyā* do not refer to the objects contrary to each other. The negative compound is formed in the function of exclusion of some characteristics in the referent of the second member. For example when a *kṣatriya* is taken as a *brāhmaṇa* because of possessing all the characteristics excluding brahminhood, the compound *a-brāhmaṇa* excludes the brahminhood and signifies metaphorically *kṣatriya* (cf. M. Srimannarayana Murti, *Sanskrit Compounds - A Philosophical Study*, pp. 255-260, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies 93, Varanasi, 1974). Thus *a-satya* is that which is very close to *satya*, but falling short of some quality of being absolute truth; thus it signifies empirical truth.

Cognition of the empirical truth helps to obtain the knowledge of absolute truth. So also *a-vidyā* means the empirical science while *vidyā* is the science of the Brahman or the science par excellence. Thus The grammarians have rightly assigned *vidyā* and *a-vidyā* as two powers of the Brahman. Thus Bhartṛhari does not use the word *avidyā* (VP. II.233 and III. Kāla.62) in the sense of Nescience as used by the Advaitins. So Śaṅkara remarks: *taṃ etam evaṃlakṣaṇam adhyāsaṃ paṇḍitā avidyeti manyante. tadvivakeṇa ca vasturūpāvadhāraṇam vidyām āhuḥ, Brahmasūtra-Śāṅkara-bhāṣya, 1.1.1.* Here *paṇḍita* means *vaiyākaraṇa*.

32. Bhartṛhari quotes as an authority in his *Vṛtti* on VP. I.26: *śabdārthayor asaṃbhede vyavahāre pṛthakkriyā/ yataḥ śabdārthayos tattvam ekaṃ tat samavasthitam//*
33. *api prayoktur ātmānaṃ śabdāntaravasthitam/ prāhur mahāntam ṛṣabhaṃ yena sāyujyaṃ iṣyate//* ibid. I.122.
34. *vyavasthitasādhubhāvena hi rūpeṇa saṃskriyamāṇe śabda-tattve 'pabhraṃśopaghātāpagamād āvirbhūte dharmaviśeṣe niyato 'bhyudayaḥ. tadabhyāsāc ca śabdapūrvakaṃ yogam adhigamya pratibhāṃ tattvaprabhavāṃ bhāvavikāraprakṛtiṃ sattāṃ sādhyasādhanaśaktiyuktāṃ samyag avabuddhya niyatā kṣemaprāptir iti,* ibid. I.123, *Vṛtti*.
35. The *Sātapatha-brāhmaṇa*, 14.6.10.6, for example, evidences the existence of several texts besides the Vedas forming corpus of the Vedic literature:...*asya mahato bhūtasya niḥśvasitam etad yad ṛgvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo 'tharvāṅgīrasa itihāsaḥ purāṇaṃ vidyā upaniṣadaḥ ślokaḥ sūtrāṇy anuvyākhyānāni vyākhyānāni ..., niḥśvasitāni.*
36. *yatra vāco nimittāni cihnānīvākṣaraśmrteḥ/ śabdapūrveṇa yogena bhāśante pratibimbavat//* ibid. I.20.  
It can also be called *śabdapūrvakayoga*; cf. fn. 34 above.
37. cf. *dvāv upādānaśabdeṣu śabdao śabdaviduḥ/ eko nimittam śabdānām aparo 'rthe prayujyate//* ibid. I.44.
38. *nirṇītaś cāyam arthaḥ śabdatattvavidbhir eva, Dhvanyāloka, 4.5.*

Ānandavardhana heartily approves the grammarian's theory of liberation and adopts the same to his poetic theory of *mokṣa*. The basic concepts of *buddhapadārtha* and *sphoṭa* are advocated in a different way by different terms *vyañjanā*

and *dhvani*. He uses the word *avidyā* in the same sense as used by the grammarian (... *tatsarvam avasānavirasam avidyāprapañcarūpaṃ ca*, 4.5; *teṣāṃ caikaikaprabhedāpekṣayāpi tāva; jagadvṛttam upanibaddhyamānaṃ sukavibhis tadichāvaśāc anyathā sthitam apy anyathaiva vivartate*, 4.3)

Cognition of duality like *sphoṭa* and *pratibhā*, *prāṇa* and *prajñā*, *vyāñjanā* and *dhvani*, *prakṛti* and *puruṣa*, *jīva* and *īśvara* and so on is the cause of grief of human beings leading to *saṃsāra* or cycle of birth and death. Liberation in consequence lies in cognising identity or unity. The identity is possible when the relata in duality are opposites or of the same nature. If they are opposites one of the relata should logically be destroyed or dissociated from the other as the Sāṃskhya philosophers postulate. In the other case the identity is established between the relata through their inherent unity for being of the same nature. The grammarians, like the Upaniṣadic philosophers, attempted at this method.

SATYA VRAT

## PRADYUMNACARITA

*An Interesting Jaina Pūrāṇic Mahākāvya*

Written at Surat in 1617 A.D.,<sup>1</sup> the *Pradyumnacarita* (PC)<sup>2</sup> of Ratnacandra Gaṇi, a Jaina monk of the *Tapā-gaccha*, purports to detail at length the life-account of Pradyumna, the famed son of Kṛṣṇa, from his birth to the attainment of the final emancipation with such trappings as the poem admitted. However, the way it has been treated within the prescribed parameters, the biography has shrunk to a segment of the burly poem. With the importance accorded to the secondary episodes and the peripheral events it could not have been otherwise. Though an homogeneous theme in itself, it has been viewed, much in the tradition of the Jaina purāṇas, as an adjunct to Nemināthas career.

The purāṇic character of PC is beyond question. It is rather infested with such elements as determine the genius of the purāṇic poems. With a view to underscore the efficacy of the doctrine of karma, Ratnacandra has taken recourse to the established device of detailing

endless accounts of the earlier births of the *dramatis persona*. One's actions persistently dog him through the series of births,<sup>4</sup> and he has to suffer the consequences thereof.<sup>5</sup> The vedists Agnibhūti and Vāyubhūti are thus said to have born as envious brāhmaṇas as a consequence of their eating, in the form of jackals, a leather-strap in one of their previous births. Their parents, Somadeva and Agnilā, on the other hand, are condemned to be Cāṇḍāla and bitch respectively because of their voluptuous conduct in a previous birth. It is because of this intimate relationship that Pūrṇabhadra and Maṇibhadra (incarnations of Agnibhūti and Vāyubhūti), the two sons of Arhaddāsa of Hastināpura, come to entertain affection for them. Pūrṇabhadra is subsequently born as Viṣvakasena's son Madhu, who reincarnates himself as Rukmiṇī's son Pradyumna. Because of the old enmity Kanakaprabha surreptitiously carries away Pradyumna soon after he is born. As a result of pouring scorn on a monk in an earlier birth, Somadeva's wife Lakṣmī has to undergo many an affliction before she is elevated as Kṛṣṇa's wife as a reward for lending succour to the sage Somādhigupta.

In keeping with the genius of the purāṇic poems, PC abounds in supernatural and miraculous events and incidents. Pradyumna's miraculous exploits have claimed a sizable part of the poem. His prowess knows no bounds. He vanquishes even his great father in a fiery duel (VIII.317). The Prajñapti-vidyā serves him as a panacea. It is this lore that enabled him to dart into Vaidarbhi's mansion undetected and marry her incognito after he had arranged the paraphernalia for the occasion out of nothing. It was again because of the miraculous Prajñapti that he removed the hump of Satya-bhāmā's slave-girl with a mere touch of his hand. The

metropolis Dvārikā is rid of all diseases and ailments at the simple beat of a drum (XIV,109).

PC is marked with a romantic ambience as well. Pradyumna's bold strategies and astounding stratagems to foil the despicable schemings of Kālasaṃvara's sons on the Vijayārdha mount and his funny actions prior to his landing upon Dvārikā serve to inject a modicum of romanticism in the body of the poem. Not unlike the other poems of its like, PC revels in admitting the folk elements, the most prominent of them being the motif of the change of form. While Pradyumna assumes the form of a Kirāta to abduct the daughter of Duryodhana, he turns himself into a Caṇḍāla to win Vaidarbhī's hand. With equal ingenuity he assumes the form of a juggler, monk and brāhmaṇa as and when he needs it. He is equally at home in investing others with the forms of their choosing. The motif of abduction which is employed with quite some frequency in PC also accords with the character of a romantic poem.

The religious discourses, admitted liberally in the poem to subserve its pedagogic objective go far to invest PC with the purāṇic aura. The redeeming feature is that these sermons have not turned prolix. That has saved the poem from pedestrian insipidness. It is also so because the poet has drawn charming sketches of the spectrum of life on the vast canvas of the poem, which, coupled with the supernatural and miraculous romantic events keep the reader spell bound till the end.

Consisting of no less than 3569 verses, PC is indeed a hefty poem of seventeen cantos. As hinted earlier, the biography of Pradyumna is confined to the first nine cantos. And but for his emancipation detailed in

canto seventeen, the rest of the poem cannot be said to have an intimate connection with the principal theme. It could have been conveniently absorbed in the ninth canto and called it a poem there itself. That would have ensured greater homogeneity to the poem. But the induction of the lengthy accounts of Kṛṣṇa and Nemi has all but wrecked the unity of the story. However, in Ratnacandra's scheme of things, the unity of the poem is not as important as the propagation of the faith. That could not have been convincingly achieved unless the majority of the characters including the hero are somehow convinced of the untenability of the human existence and embrace ascetic life to escape the baneful effects of the worldly pleasures. To the poet Nemi's liberation seems to be the quint-essence of PC, though it runs counter to the denouement of the main story. He has therefore sought to carry the main theme to its culmination by incorporating Pradyumna's salvation in canto seventeen. It however appears to have been forcibly thrust on the poem to achieve a limited objective. In its present form PC is dominated by the *Kṛṣṇacarita*. Even if Kṛṣṇa's career is taken to be connected with the story of his son, there is no valid reason to set forth at length Nemi's biography in PC. Evidently Ratnacandra could not afford to defy the sequence set by his sources and has smugly treated the life-story of Pradyumna as an appendage to the *Nemicarita*. That has only served to reduce the main story to subordination. In view of its contents the nomenclature of the poem sounds inappropriate, if not wholly untenable. It would have been certainly more convincing to call it *Kṛṣṇacarita* rather than *Pradyumnacarita*.

Not unlike most of the Śvetāmbara authors of the purāṇic poems, Ratnacandra is indebted to



Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣacarita* (TSSPC) for his theme. It hardly brooks repetition that he followed TSSPC both in detail and sequence with a measure of reverence. PC bears so close resemblance with the corresponding part (canto Nine) of Hemacandra's *magnum opus* that it would be infructuous to detail the similarities between the two. It is the dissimilarities that merit notice.

According to PC Rukmiṇī requests Kṛṣṇa through an envoy to save her from the clutches of Śiśupāla in which she feared to land ere long (III.498). In TSSPC Kṛṣṇa, after he has taken fancy for her on seeing her picture, asks Rukmin to give him the hand of his sister. He brusquely rejects the proposal and instead fixes her marriage with the Cedi ruler.<sup>6</sup> It is not Rukmiṇī but her aunt (father's sister) who, in Hemacandra's account, apprises Kṛṣṇa of her prospective marriage with Śiśupāla.<sup>7</sup> TSSPC would have us believe that Rukmiṇī, in accordance with a pre-decided strategy, mounted Kṛṣṇa's chariot on her own. It is after her departure that her aunt and maids accuse Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma of managing the abduction, in a bid to conceal their own involvement in the affair.<sup>8</sup> In PC it is actually Balarāma who helps her to Kṛṣṇa's chariot, and the abduction is declared by none else but Kṛṣṇa (IV.37-75). The two poems concur on the manner of Pradyumna's mysterious disappearance soon after his birth,<sup>9</sup> the account of his earlier births and his enmity with Dhūmaketu.<sup>10</sup> The sixteen calamitous tests to which Pradyumna is put by Kālasaṃvara's sons in a bid to liquidate him are, however, conspicuous by their absence in TSSPC.<sup>11</sup> Ratnacandra seems to owe the tests to the *Uttarapurāṇa* which, however, mentions only ten of them. The

conspiracy to dispose off Pradyumna is hatched in the *Uttarapurāṇa* after he turns down Kāñcanamālā's (Kanakamālā's) advances to him.<sup>12</sup> According to Guṇabhadra's version, Pradyumna does not abduct Udadhi; he makes fun of the people present at Bhānukumāra's *mahābhīṣeka*. He ridicules the Kauravas also in a similar vein near Mathurā.<sup>13</sup> The bet between Rukmīṇī and Satyabhāmā with respect to surrendering their hair boils down to be the immediate cause of Pradyumna's return in PC. However, he comes to know of the bet in the *Uttarapurāṇa* only when a barber actually arrives to cut Rukmīṇī's hair. Pradyumna hangs him upside down at the city-gate.<sup>14</sup>

As a purāṇic *mahākāvya*, PC must have Śānta as its dominant sentiment. It indeed culminates in quietism. Almost all the characters in the poem are ultimately convinced of the futility of sensual pleasures and opt for asceticism, which to them, is the gateway to the ultimate bliss.<sup>15</sup> In the author's view quietude is the king of sentiments and in comparison to it Śṛṅgāra is repulsive like the *kimpāka*.<sup>16</sup>

Though catapulted to the high pedestal of the *aṅgī-rasa*, quietism, as delineated in PC, lacks the depth and intensity inherent in the chief sentiment. In the ambience as it obtains in the poem, it is perhaps not possible to carry quietism to the supreme status. The fact that the poem reaches its climax in quietude is to be viewed as a pointer to its predominance which is reflected in the way the *dramatis persona* vie with each other to seek release from human bondage. The pithy observation of Kṛṣṇa when on death-bed, poignantly underscores the helplessness of man and impermanence of human

relationship besides the inevitability of fall of the mighty as well.

एकोऽहं नास्ति मे कश्चिन्नाहमपि कस्यचित्।  
एवमदीनचित्तश्च चकाराराधनं हरिः ॥ XVI.177.

Contrary to quietism, the *Vīra-rasa* finds powerful expression in PC. Besides minor duels and skirmishes, Kṛṣṇa fierce encounters with Jarāsandha and Padmanābha, as detailed in the poem, lead to the emergence of the heroic sentiment with a vengeance. While going through these parts of the poem, one cannot help the feeling that it is basically a heroic poem. And it will be justified to hold that the *Vīra-rasa* in the poem often impedes the operation of the dominant sentiment. Ratnacandra has his own style of delineating the *Vīra-rasa*, which may be turned as a purāṇic or religious style. Kṛṣṇa's encounters with Jarāsandha and Padmanābha are thus taken to symbolize the eternal clash of the opposite forces. Being a symbol of evil, Jarāsandha's defeat at the hands of Viṣṇu was a foregone conclusion.<sup>17</sup> That accounts for the incredible ease with which Kṛṣṇa stands Jarāsandha's deadly disc, but the same disc, when hurled back on Jarāsandha, severs his head in a trice.<sup>18</sup> As the forces of good are bound to win, Padmanābha's army is routed by the mere sound of Pañcajanya. And when he presents himself to Kṛṣṇa in the guise of a woman, the battle is won without firing a single shot.<sup>19</sup>

The notable feature of Kṛṣṇa's terrific engagement with Jarāsandha is that Neminātha, the matchless apostle of peace and non-violence, also participates in it with zeal and glue. Even after liquidating lakhs of

combatants he is unfazed as if violence were a way of life with him.

The battles in PC are marked by an exchange of invectives by the opposing combatants and their nauseating self vaunt. The abusive game reaches its climax in Arjuna's fight with Karna.<sup>20</sup>

The terrific battles apart, Ratnacandra has no love lost for the violence inherent in them. His puritan and non-violent tendencies assert themselves in no time. The observation that follows may sound ridiculous for a poet who has gone the whole hog to detail many a deadly encounter, it, however, fully accords with his otherwise deep commitment to non-violence.

विचार्येति प्रभुः प्रोचे कृतं युद्धस्य वार्तया ।

पुष्पेणापि न साक्षि स्यान्नीतिशास्त्रं यतोऽस्य हि ॥ XII.23.

Though denounced as *kiṃpāka* by him (XII.243), Ratnacandra could not escape the spell of Śṛṅgāra. It finds effective expression in Kṛṣṇa's water-sports with the Yadu ladies (XII.75). The pangs of Rukmiṇī's *pūrvarāga* are, however, more touching. The separation seems to have taken a heavy toll on her. She has lost all liking for the food, the sleep has deserted her like an unfaithful friend, the moonlight showers fire and the heat of her body has gone so high that it dries up the sandal paste applied thereon in no time (III.78-79).

Adbhuta, Hāsyā and Karuṇa are the other ancillary sentiments that combine to heighten the aesthetic appeal of PC. The description of the valour of the Weaver Vīra, as attempted by him, evokes spontaneous laughter. He had performed the rare feat of killing a

chameleon with a stone, had contained the flooded furrow with his foot and had overpowered a swarm of flies comfortably settled in a jar. Height of bravery indeed!

बदरीस्थो ग्रावखण्डैः कृकलासो मया हतः। IXV.154.

तोयं मया वहदुद्धं मार्गे स्यन्दननिर्मिति।

तत्क्षणाद् वामपादेन बलीत्यस्मि जनार्दन॥ XIV.155.

वस्त्रपालकलभ्यन्तः शतशो मक्षिका मया। XIV.156.

प्रविष्टा हस्तदानेन सर्वा अपि धृताः क्षणात्॥ XIV.157

The Karuṇa-rasa as depicted by Ratnacandra is cast in the mould of the typical Jaina poems, which are wont to treat wails and screams as synonymous with pathos. It is in the soliloquy of Jarāsuta after he had unwittingly shot Kṛṣṇa that the Karuṇa-rasa unfolds itself with intensity. He had gone into self-exile to escape the sin of the prospective fratricide, but he has invited the same sin by shooting Kṛṣṇa down.

कथं तदैव न मृतो हा किमेतदुपस्थितम्।

वसुधे विवरं देहि मां गृहाणातिपातिनम्॥ XVI.158.

हा वेधः किमकार्षीस्त्वं मदधस्तात् कारयन् वधम्।

नरोत्तमस्य मे भ्रातुः किं विराद्धं मया तव ॥ XVI.160.

मरणं श्रेय एवास्तु जीवितेनाधुना कृतम् ॥ XVI.161.

The natural phenomenon, so popular with the Sanskrit poets, has not found much favour with the author. The simple innocuous description of the summer is all that can be claimed to represent the natural beauties in the poem. The physical beauty has reversely evoked greater regard from the author, though his description thereof also tends to be stereotyped. He has sought to highlight the physical charms of his characters with the time-worn *nakhaśikha* device (III.18-22).

PC forms a vast galaxy of characters who strut the stage with distinct individuality, which even if not worthy, perforce engages attention. All the characters have been depicted in the purāṇic ambience and have therefore received deep supernatural colouring. They have been added by cast in the Jainistic mould to drive home its superiority over the other faiths.

Pradyumna would doubtless be rated as the hero of the poem, though, as required by the theory, he does not pervade its length and breadth. And in comparison with his great father, he tends to sink into insignificance. In view of the miserable fate he is made to suffer for not embracing the Jainistic faith, it may not be possible to accord Kṛṣṇa the status of the hero of the poem, he is nonetheless a colossus and cannot be dismissed lightly. Nor can we ignore Neminātha who pulls the strings from behind the curtain and guides the course of the poem. As the hero of the *mahākāvya*, Pradyumna may apparently be accepted as a Dhīrodātta-nāyaka. However, on close observation he turns to be of the Dhīroddhata type who revels in self vaunt, trickery, scheming and other contemptible acts.

PC is not intended to serve the literary taste of the specialist. It is rather addressed to the layman to apprise him of the basics of the faith. It cannot therefore boast of ornate language or literary style. Nor does it lapse into the time-worm ancients. Its language well accords with its limited objective. A nagging uniformity confronts the reader throughout the poem. It does not have the resilience to adapt itself to the changing phenomena. As different situations as war and laughter, burning of Dvārikā and abduction of Rukmiṇī, religious discourses and contemptuous conspiracies are couched

in a uniform phraseology. It may differ in degrees but not in essentials.

In his anxiety to ensure the simplicity of the language, the author has not always respected the usage. The syntax is occasionally at odd with the genius of the speech. It is heavily influenced by the vernaculars, especially Hindi. आद्याप्युपायौ द्वौ तिष्ठतोऽस्य (VII.291), मानसं पृच्छ स्वकम् (VIII.242), चलत्पन्थानमुज्झित्वा (XII.91), श्रवसोर्दत्त्वाङ्गुली द्वे साऽवदत्तां समर्पय मार्गेण ऋजुना (XIII.74) are some of the expressions which offend the idiom. यान्तीमिव गन्धरेणुम् (V.167), अतिसुन्दराम् (IX.168), प्रेमपत्रिका (VIII.191), किमारूढोऽसि सहकारतरौ (VII.165), प्राज्ञा अपास्तभयवेष्युः (X.290) are grammatically indefensible. He has not hesitated in admitting some of the Deśī words as well. Some of them are queer indeed: छोटयामास (IV.156), हक्कयन् (VII.268), लड्डुकाः (VIII.189). With equal zeal he has borrowed some of the verses from his predecessors to illustrate his ideas and contentions. Contrary to the conscious effort to make his poem as easy as possible, Ratnacandra has used some of the words in their lexical sense. *Hemakandala* (coral), *hāradūrā* (grape), *bhāmāvati* (angry), *divākīrti* (barber), *hīnāṅgī* (ant), *satram* (forest) cry attention.

PC is couched in a conversational style. The various characters engage themselves in question-answer bouts and everything is discussed at length at a leisurely pace. The lengthy description of Rukmiṇī's lineage, beauty, etc., by Nārada forms an answer to Kṛṣṇa's inquisitive query.

Ratnacandra does not have much of fascination for the figures of speech. Only such *alamkāras* as were essential to lend clarity to the expression have been used in PC. He is adept in handling the simile. The

appropriate *upamānas* mustered by him serve to make the ideas under description more effective. Rukmin's help made the Cedi-king more hostile as the wind serves to fan the fire to be all the more menacing (V.59). Padmanābha, unable to stand the valour of Kṛṣṇa, returned to his metropolis as a newly wed damsel, being afraid of frequent cohabitation, rushes back to her father's house.

कृष्णाग्रे स्थातुमसहः सन् पद्मः स्वां पुरीं ययौ।  
पुनः पत्युर्नवोद्वेगं गृहं पितृन् रतासहा ॥ XIII.93.

*Aprastutaprasāṃsā* has also been used quite widely in the poem. Kṛṣṇa's assurance to Rukminī in response to her message is en clothed in *aprastutaprasāṃsā*. The *aprastutas* Hamsī, Hamsa and Kākī in the following verse evidently imply Rukminī, Kṛṣṇa and Satyabhāmā respectively:

हे हंसि! माऽधृतिं कुर्यास्तवाहं हंस आगतः।  
न काकीसंगाद् हृष्येद् हंसः कमलपत्रभुक् ॥ III.95.

*Yamaka*, *parisaṃkhyā*, *rūpaka*, *yathāsaṃkhyā*, *mālo-pamā*, *arthāntaranyāsa*, *sandeha*, *dṛṣṭānta*, *viṣama*, etc., are some of the other figures of speech that contribute to the clarity of expression in PC.

Not unlike most of the purāṇic poems, PC is couched throughout in the *anuṣṭup* metre. The biographic verse at the close of each canto has claimed the *vasantatilakā* metre. The *śārdūlavikrīḍita* has been used for one verse each in canto First and Six, while canto Seventeen has one stanza in the *drutavilambita*. All in all, four metres have been used in the poem.

PC is evidently invested with pedagogic overtones. Even while achieving his objective Ratnacandra has



succeeded in spinning out an interesting poem. His poetic talents are certainly not mean. The variety and richness of events that characterize his poem fascinate the reader. The difficulty is that his limited objective and vision tend to circumscribe his talents rather menacingly.

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4. PC, XII.82.
5. Cf. कम्मसच्चा हु पाणिणो, *Uttarādhyaṃsūtra*, VII.20.
6. TSSPC. [English Translation], part V, Gaekwad Oriental Series, 139, Baroda, 1962, p. 181.
7. *ibid.* p. 182.
8. *ibid.* p. 182.
9. According to the *Uttarapurāṇa* Pradyumna's abductor Dhumaketu was Kanakaratha in an earlier birth. He sends the inmates of the harem into swoon and carries away the child and puts him under the Takṣaka rock in the Khadira-forest (72.51-53).
10. PC. V.54-262; TSSPC. pp. 194-197.
11. TSSPC. pp. 204-205.
12. *Uttarapurāṇa*, 72.74-126.
13. *ibid.* 72.154-168.
14. *ibid.* 72.173-174.
15. PC. XVII.58.
16. रसाधिराजं सेवस्व शान्तं शान्तमनाश्चिरम् ।  
किं पाकसदृशं मुञ्च शृङ्गारं विरसं पुनः॥ PC. XII.243.
17. एकोऽपि विष्णुः स्याद हन्ता प्रतिविष्णोरिति स्थितिः। PC. X.270.
18. *ibid.* X.265.
19. *ibid.* XIII.103-104.
20. *ibid.* XIII.103-104.



S. REVATHY

ON THE MEANING OF  
THE POTENTIAL SUFFIX [*LIN*]

*According to the Schools of  
Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya*

Pāṇini in his aphorism: *vidhinimantraṇāmantra-  
ṇādhiṣṭasampraśnaprārthaneṣu liṇ* (3.3.161) states that  
*vidhi* is the sense of the potential suffix. In regard to  
the nature of *vidhi* there is difference of opinion among  
the grammarians, the logicians and the Mīmāṃsakas.  
This paper is an attempt to explain the views of the  
advocates of these three schools.

Patañjali in his *Bhāṣya* on the above aphorism de-  
fines *vidhi* as *preṣaṇa* (*vidhiḥ preṣaṇam*). The word  
*preṣaṇa* signifies the function that is conducive to ac-  
tivity. The function that is conducive to activity is the  
content of knowledge that prompts one towards activ-  
ity. It comes to this that *vidhi* is that by knowing which  
men act. In ordinary experience every one performs an  
activity only by knowing that such an activity is the

means to a desired end (*iṣṭasādhana*). From this it follows that *vidhi* consists in the state of being the means to a desired end.

Patañjali in his *Bhāṣya* on the aphorism *hetumati ca* (3.1.26) clearly states that the cause of activity is the knowledge that a particular act is the means to a desired end:

*na iha kaścit paraḥ anugṛhītavyaḥ iti pravartate  
sarva ime svabhūtyartham pravartante.*

The commentary *Uddyota* explains the above text thus:

*sarvatra sva iṣṭasādhanatājñānam eva pravartakam iti bhāvaḥ*

Bhartrhari too in his *Vākyapadiya*, 3.7.124 records the same view thus:

*nimittebhyaḥ pravartante sarva eva svabhūtaye/  
abhiprāyānurodho 'pi svārtasyaiva prasiddhaye//*

From the above it emerges that when Patañjali interprets the word *vidhi* to mean *preṣaṇa* what he means is that it is the state of being a means to a desired end, the knowledge of which prompts one towards activity.

Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa in his *Bhūṣaṇasāra* emphasizes the above view thus:

*pravartanātvam ca pravṛttijanakajñānaviṣaya-  
tāvachedakatvam. tac ca iṣṭasādhanatvasya asti.<sup>1</sup>*

Gaṅgeṣa noticing certain difficulties in the above views argues that the potential suffix conveys not merely

the state of being the means to a desired end (*iṣṭasā-dhanatva*). On the other hand it conveys that the performance of a particular act will not give forth any powerful unwelcome result (*balavadaniṣṭānanubandhitvam*) and such an act can be accomplished by effort (*kṛti-sādhya* *tva*). Thus the knowledge of a particular act is the means to a desired end, does not lead to powerful unwelcome result and could be accomplished by effort leads one to carry out such an act. The reasons for admitting the above three as constituents of the sense of the potential suffix may be explained as follows:

(i) There is cognition that bringing the moon down to the earth is the means to the desired end, namely, happiness; yet, no one attempts at doing that. It is because it cannot be accomplished by effort. So it must be accepted that the knowledge that a particular act could be accomplished by human effort too is the factor that prompts one to carry out that act; since there is the absence of knowledge that bringing down the moon to earth could be accomplished by effort, no one engages oneself in such an act.

(ii) Eating of an unwholesome food mixed with honey is a means to the desired end, namely appeasement of one's hunger. But no one attempts at eating such a food because one has the knowledge that it will lead to unwelcome result, namely, disease. Therefore, one must accept that the knowledge that an act will not produce powerful unwelcome result also is the cause that prompts towards performing an act.

(iii) Drawing of lines on sand in an aimless manner does not bring forth any unwelcome result; nor is it impossible to be accomplished by effort. But no one

consciously does that. It is because it is not the means to any desired end.

From the above it follows that since no one is prompted towards an act in the absence of the knowledge of three factors mentioned above it must be concluded that the knowledge of the three factors is the cause of activity. The three factors constitute the sense of the potential suffix.

The process through which one attempts at doing something may be explained as follows: One who wants to learn the meanings of words first notices activity on the part of a servant (say) in the form of fetching a cow after hearing the statement 'Fetch the cow' uttered by his master. Then one infers that activity on the part of the servant is preceded by the knowledge that such an activity is the means to a desired end (*iṣṭasāadhanatva*) could be accomplished by human effort (*kṛtisādhyatva*) and would not bring forth any unwelcome result (*balavadaniṣṭājanakatva*); it is because it is an activity like any other activity of mine.

Thus this is the order: (i) In the first place there is desire towards a fruit. (ii) Then there is the knowledge that an activity is the means of achieving the fruit; it will not give forth unwelcome result and it could be accomplished by human effort. (iii) Then there is desire in the form 'I shall do this' and there is activity.

The above is the view of the Naiyāyikas of the Gaṅgeśa school.

Udayana in his *Nyāyakusumāñjali* is of the view that it is the intention of the speaker that is the meaning of

the potential suffix. The state of being the means to a desired end is only inferentially known.<sup>2</sup> To be explicit, the meaning of the potential suffix is *vidhi*. It is the intention of the speaker who is a trust-worthy person. It is of the form 'Let this one engage oneself in this particular act'. Thus on hearing the statement of the master of the form: 'Fetch the cow', the servant understands the desire of the master of the form: 'Let this servant engage himself in the activity of fetching the cow'. Then he infers that the activity of bringing the cow is a means to the desired end, namely, the gratification of the master. The inferential argument is as follows: The activity of bringing the cow is the means to an end desired by me; it is because it is desired by one who is interested in my welfare as to be carried out by me.

Then the servant engages himself in bringing the cow. In the case of the prohibitory texts such as 'one should not eat garlic' what is conveyed by the potential suffix in association with the particle *nañ* is the absence of the desire of the trust-worthy person in regard to the activity of eating the garlic. Then there arises the inferential cognition that eating garlic is the means to unwelcome result. The process through which such an inferential cognition arises is as follows: Eating garlic is the means of the fruit that is unwelcome to me; it is because it is never desired by the trust-worthy person as an object of my effort. Then he refrains from taking garlic. Thus in all places it is only the intention of the trust-worthy person that is the meaning of the potential suffix *līñ*.

Khaṇḍadeva in his *Bhāṭṭarāhasya* adapts the line of argument of Udayaṇa and states that in the case of potential suffix not associated with the prohibitive particle *nañ* the meaning is the intention of the

trust-worthy person of the form 'Let this one engage oneself in this activity'.<sup>3</sup> The characteristic of being the means to a desired end is known inferentially as explained earlier. Hence this does not form part of the meaning of the potential suffix on the basis of the maxim: 'That alone is the sense of a particular word which is not known through any other means'. In the case of the potential suffix associated with the prohibitive particle the meaning is the intention of the speaker of the form 'Let this one refrain from committing this act'.

Just as the characteristic of being the means to a desired end is not the meaning of the potential suffix in the same way the state of being accomplished by effort (*kṛtisādhyatva*) also is not the meaning of the potential suffix. It is because in the expression *yajeta* the meaning of the root is related to effort (*kṛti*) which is the meaning of the verbal suffix, through the relation known as *anukūlatva* meaning thereby that this effort is conducive to the accomplishment of the meaning of the root. In this process the fact that the meaning of the root, namely, an activity could be accomplished by effort is also known. In the same way the characteristic that a particular activity will not lead to unwelcome result is also not the meaning of the potential suffix. It is because the knowledge that a particular activity will not lead to unwelcome result is not the cause that prompts one towards the performance of that activity. On the other hand the knowledge that a particular act will lead to unwelcome result is the factor that prevents one's activity. And the absence of such knowledge is the cause of activity. Since the knowledge that a particular act will lead to unwelcome result is not the cause of activity. The content of such knowledge, namely, the



characteristic of being the cause of unwelcome result is not the meaning of the potential suffix.

Gadādhara in his *Vyutpattivāda* states that the characteristic of being not the cause of unwelcome result must also be included as a constituent of the sense of potential suffix. It is because only then one could maintain the validity of the prohibitory texts such as 'One should not eat garlic' and the like.<sup>4</sup>

This may be explained as follows: If the prohibitive particle *nañ* in the text *na kalañjam bhakṣayet* were to convey the absence of the characteristic of being the means to a desired end in the case of the eating of garlic then the following difficulty would arise. And it is: there is present in the eating of garlic, the characteristic of being the means to a desired end in the form of gratification to the gustatory sense. Hence the view that the eating of garlic is not associated with the characteristic of being the means to a desired end is incompatible. To overcome this we have to admit that the meaning of the potential suffix is the characteristic of not being the productive factor of unwelcome result. And its absence is conveyed in the text *na kalañjam bhakṣayet*.

Thus in order to maintain the validity of the prohibitory text we must admit that the sense of potential suffix is the characteristic of not being the cause of unwelcome result.

A careful analysis of the Nyāya view that three factors, namely, the characteristic of being the means to a desired end, the characteristic of not being the cause of unwelcome result, and the characteristic of being accomplished by effort, constitute the meaning of potential

suffix shows that this view cannot be applied strictly to all the texts containing potential suffixes. For example, in the case of the text 'He who wants to cause malediction to his foe shall perform the *Śyena-yāga*, the factor, namely, the characteristic of not being the cause of unwelcome result could not be admitted to be the meaning of the potential suffix. It is because causing malediction to a foe will definitely lead to unwelcome result. Therefore, in the case of the present text the factors, namely, the characteristic of being the means to a desired end and that of being accomplished by effort alone constitute the meaning of the potential suffix. And in the case of the expression *kuryāt* the meaning of the root is 'effort'. And effort cannot be accomplished by effort. So the factor, namely, the characteristic of being accomplished by effort must be given up in the present case and the other two factors alone constitute the sense of the potential suffix in the present case. It may be noted that the characteristic of being the means to a desired end is not at all incompatible in any case.

According to Prābhākara, *niyoga* is the sense of the potential suffix present in the secular statements such as 'fetch the cow' or in the scriptural statements such as: *jyotiṣṭomena svargakāmo yajeta*. In order that a *niyoga* may become significant, two elements are necessary and they are 1) the person to whom it is addressed (*niyojya*) and its content (*viṣaya*). That is, a *niyoga* should indicate who is to obey it, and what particular act one should do to obey it. The application of this principle to the secular injunction, namely, 'fetch the cow' is clear. It is the servant that is to obey. And he fulfils the *niyoga* when he brings the cow; and the activity of bringing which is the sense of the root is the *niyoga* in the present case. In the case of Vedic injunction the

form *yajeta* consists of the root and the potential suffix. The potential suffix denotes the *niyoga*. And the root points to the sacrifice as the content of the *niyoga*. It is this *niyoga* that is to be primarily achieved. And the word *svargakāma* refers to the person who is directed (*niyojya*). The *niyoga* in order that it may be achieved prompts the *niyojya* towards its content. When the content is performed the *niyoga* is achieved and then the fruit, namely, heaven ensues as a matter of course. One point that emerges from this is that in the case of secular injunction it is the activity of bringing the cow that is the *niyoga* and the result follows directly from it. In the case of the scriptural injunction what is achieved by the pursuit of the meaning of the root, is *niyoga*. And the result, namely, heaven ensues at a later stage. In the language of Hiriyanna the doctrine of *niyoga* of the Prābhākara corresponds to the categorical Imperative of Immanuel Kant but in both the cases that which is to be achieved by volition (*kṛtisādhyatva*) is the meaning of the potential suffix.

The Mīmāṃsakas and Udayana are of the view that the meaning of the potential suffix is only the specific intention of the one who directs another person. Nāgeśa and others who belong to the new school of grammar hold the view that the verbal usage conducive to activity or the word that prompts one to activity is the meaning of the potential suffix. All these authors are of the view that subsequent to the cognition of the sense of the potential suffix there must be inference that activity is a means to a desired end and then alone there is activity. If the fact of means to a desired end is to be inferentially known then verbal cognition would needlessly depend upon the cognition of invariable relation thus being exposed to the fault of prolixity. On this

ground it is better to assume that the cognition that a particular activity is the means to a desired end is verbal in nature and therefore the fact that one is the means to a desired end is the meaning of the potential suffix.

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## MṚCCHAKAṬIKA A JUST LOKADHARMĪ PLAY

The *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka is an ideal Prakaraṇa which occupies a significant position in the Sanskrit dramatic literature. In ten acts, this depicts mainly the love story of Cārudatta and Vasantasenā apart from others like the corruptness in legal procedure, the nature of villains and destiny.<sup>1</sup> This great work testifies to the genius of the poet in the matter of descriptions and so on and also glorifies him as a visionary and a social reformer. This was made possible by Śūdraka for he chose to depict *lokadharmī* element to a great extent which made him illustrious. The society that has been depicted by Śūdraka in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is well known and does not require repetition.

In spite of its great popularity some observed that there are certain improprieties in this play which go against the rules of Bharata. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* formulates several rules to be followed by the playwrights.

Scholars opine that Bharata lived between 150 B.C. and 200 A.D. Regarding Śūdraka's date, many scholars have different opinions. Hence, one cannot say whether Śūdraka knew the *Nāṭyaśāstra* or not. Bharata composed his work basing on the then existing principles and norms of drama. If one views the *Mṛcchakaṭika* keeping in view the rules of Bharata he would know that there are some improprieties in the work. Before going into details, it is necessary to know about *dharmī* according to Bharata. He classified *dharmī* into two types, one is *lokadharmī* 'realism' and the other *nāṭyadharmī* 'idealism'.<sup>2</sup> While in speech mere pronunciation of sentences is *lokadharmī*. It is known as *nāṭyadharmī* when it is sung in accompaniment of *rāgas*. Bharata mentions some other places of *nāṭyadharmī*.<sup>3</sup> The characteristic feature of *nāṭyadharmī* is that the actors do not listen to each other's words uttered nearby but they do hear the untold words.<sup>4</sup> *Nāṭyadharmī* is anything peculiar to drama and which is not found exactly in the same manner in the world. *Lokadharmī* is the natural condition of things in the world.<sup>5</sup>

Bharata's definition of *lokadharmī* is elaborate and clear.<sup>6</sup> Natural events when realistically presented on the stage are called *lokadharmī*; but such a presentation has no artistic value and, therefore, is not appealing to the audience. When the same events are presented with certain additions and artistic distortions they become appealing and enjoyable. What additions or artistic alterations are to be made must be decided only by the genius of the playwright. It is clear that *lokadharmī* cannot be vulgar and obscene. Bharata is very much aware of this and stands for decency. He precludes all vulgarity.<sup>7</sup> Certain scenes like eating, sleeping (lying), kissing, embracing of lovers and the like are prohibited

on the stage. He clearly mentions the reason for not permitting them for exhibition. Since it is witnessed by a father, son, daughter-in-law, mother-in-law and others it should not cause any embarrassment to anyone of them even when they all go together. In representing various activities of women, there should be no use of unguents and collyrium, no decoration of the body and no holding of breasts and hair. Women of the upper and middle types should not be shown as poorly covered or wearing only one piece of garment and they should use no colour for their lips. Such a rule of dresses will suit only to the women of inferior type because of their low nature. Still the dramatist is advised against describing such scenes even in case of a common woman (*sāmānyā*).<sup>8</sup>

Another important point to be noted is that tragedy has no place in Sanskrit drama though tragic element has. People desire to enjoy an entertainment so that they would be free from their mental gloom. Tragedy will only add to the mental gloom of the spectator. This itself is the main reason for the absence of tragedies in Sanskrit excepting one or two. According to Bharata 'a battle, loss of kingdom, death and siege of a city being not directly visible in an act, should be presented by introductory scenes (*praveśaka*).<sup>9</sup> Hence, an expert playwright must always avoid showing the above prohibited scenes on the stage.

Now, if one reads the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, keeping in mind the prohibitions of Bharata, he knows that there are improprieties that have crept into the work.

Sleep has been described on two occasions. In the 3rd Act, a servant of Cārudatta by name Vardhamānaka

awaiting the arrival of his master and Maitreya says that he would go to the room near the outer entrance and sleep and does accordingly.<sup>10</sup> In the same Act Śarvilaka, the thief, says that two men are sleeping.<sup>11</sup> It cannot be a mere statement of Śarvilaka about the sleep of two men but both of them are shown on the stage and Maitreya utters words in his sleep. Consequently, Śarvilaka succeeds in stealing the golden casket. In both these places, Śūdraka has a purpose to be served by the introduction of these scenes. So far as the former is concerned Vardhamānaka does this in order to open the door for his master. The latter is significant in view of the theft scene to be shown. The utterances of Vidūṣaka in sleep add charm to the scene providing a sense of humour in the audience.

Leaving aside the doubt whether Śūdraka knew about the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the prohibitions of Bharata, if one understands the *Mṛcchakaṭika* in its right perspective, he knows that Śūdraka tried to make things more realistic. In the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, realism is the one that appeals to all. A work describing contemporary social conditions of people, their ideas, habits and others naturally wins the admiration of all. Such a great work was composed by Śūdraka. Thus, the *Mṛcchakaṭika* has much *lokadharmī* aspect described in it. It throws abundant light on the social life of people, politics and religion.

In the 5th Act of the work it is so described that Vasantasenā while displaying the emotion of love embraces Cārudatta. Cārudatta too displays the pleasure of her touch and embraces her in return.<sup>12</sup> Hugging of a male and a female with the emotion of love is prohibited on the stage. Śūdraka did introduce this scene in his work because in his opinion it is not unbecom-



ing. Here, Vasantasenā is a courtesan and *prauḍhā* who takes initiative in the love affair. She loves Cārudatta very much. Being an expert in several arts she knows everything that can bring her close to Cārudatta.

As already pointed out death should not be shown on the stage. In the 8th Act of the play due to the interchange of carriages Vasantasenā reaches the garden by name Puṣpakaraṇḍaka. After Śākāra's futile efforts to woo Vasantasenā, the former strangles and tries to kill her. Fainting of Vasantasenā and her falling down senseless are shown on the stage. Whatever may be the truth regarding Vasantasenā's death, audience in that particular scene know for certain that Vasantasenā is murdered by Śākāra. If the same is conveyed by somebody through Viṣkambha, the extent of sorrow would be less. Still the death has been shown on the stage.

This may be due to the Greek influence prevalent in those days. In many of the Greek dramas and English dramas that follow them, one finds death scenes and scenes of murder exhibited on the stage without any hesitation. The stabbing scene of Julius Ceaser in the play *Julius Ceaser* amply bears testimony to this kind of practice in the Western dramas.

Hence, Śūdraka introduced the above discussed scenes in this play in order to bring about realism. In spite of these small lapses here and there, the *Mṛcchakatika* has been hailed as an ideal drama reflecting the social, ethical, religious and political conditions of those times.

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5. *ibid.* XXIII, verse 193: *svabhāvo lokadharmī tu nāṭya-dharmī vikārataḥ*.
6. *Nāṭyaśāstra* XIV, verses 70 and 71.
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8. *ibid.* verses 232-34.
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V. SWAMINATHAN

## भाट्टप्राभाकरमतानुसारम् अपूर्वनिरूपणम्

दर्शनान्तरेषु अप्रमितं अपूर्वात्वं पदार्थं, कौमारिलं प्राभाकरं चेति प्रचण्डपण्डित-  
मण्डले विश्रुतं पूर्वमीमांसाया अवान्तरप्रस्थानद्वयमनुसृत्य, यथाशक्ति यथाप्रति-  
भानं च निरूपयिष्यामः विदुषां मुदे। \* तत्र आदौ कौमारिलं पक्षं संक्षेपेण उपक्षिपामः।

अपूर्वशब्दः लोकदृष्टया कमर्थमभिदधीत? इति प्रथमं विचारणा प्रवर्तते।  
'अपूर्वमिदं चित्रम्' 'अपूर्वमिदं गानम्' इत्यादीन् व्यवहारान् सहस्रशः समुपलभामहे  
दैनन्दिनिकलोकयात्रायाम्। तत्र 'अपूर्वमिदं गानम्' इत्यत्र अश्रुतचरं इत्यस्मिन्  
अर्थे 'अपूर्वमिदं चित्रम्' इति वाक्ये अदृष्टचरं इत्यस्मिन् अर्थे च अपूर्वशब्दः  
प्रयुज्यते।

एवं च एतादृशस्थलेषु पूर्वशब्दं पूर्वदृष्टे पूर्वश्रुते पूर्वस्मृष्टे वा अर्थे कस्मिंश्चित्  
प्रयुज्यते जनाः। पूर्वाधिगते पूर्वशब्दः लाक्षणिक इति पर्यवस्यति। पूर्वाधिगतत्वं  
च पूर्वकालिकज्ञानविषयत्वम्। अधिगमश्च प्रमाणव्यापारेण स्वात्मलाभं लभते।  
प्रमाणानि व्यापार्य खलु सर्वो लोकः अर्थान् अधिगच्छति। तथा च पूर्वकालिकप्रमा-  
णव्यापारजनितज्ञानविषयत्वं पूर्वाधिगतत्वमिति फलति। एवं च अपूर्वशब्दः  
पूर्वकालिकप्रमाणव्यापारजनितज्ञानाविषयम् अर्थं कञ्चिदभिधत्ते। श्रोत्रादिभिः  
प्रमाणैः सम्प्रति प्रमितः यादृशः गानादिः अर्थः, इतः प्राक् तैः न कदाचिदपि तादृशः  
प्रमितः इत्ययमर्थः उदाहृतलौकिकवाक्यघटकस्य अपूर्वशब्दस्य अभिधानीयतां

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\* शास्त्रदीपिकां प्रकरणपञ्चिकां चावलम्ब्य सन्दृब्धोऽयं लघुनिबन्धः।

भजते। तिष्ठतु तावत् लौकिकस्य अपूर्वशब्दस्यार्थवर्णने अभिनिवेशः। पूर्वमीमांसा-  
शास्त्रे प्रथितप्रचुरप्रयोगस्य अपूर्वशब्दस्य कोऽर्थः? अपूर्वपदार्थस्य किं लक्षणम्,  
किं वा तत्र प्रमाणमित्यादिविषयिणी चिन्ता प्रवर्त्यताम् अनुपदमेव इति चेत्,  
अत्राभिदध्महे — एतदर्थमेव हि उपोदघातत्वेन लौकिकापूर्वशब्दार्थं प्रस्ताविष्म।  
इदानीं प्रक्रान्तस्य व्याख्यानमुपक्रमिष्यामः।

भगवान् जैमिनिः द्वादशलक्षण्याः द्वितीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमपादस्य द्वितीये अधि-  
करणे “चोदना पुनरारम्भः” इति अपूर्वस्वरूपं सूत्रयामास। अत्र चोदनाशब्दस्य  
अपूर्वमर्थः आरम्भशब्दस्य फलारम्भोऽर्थः। “अपूर्वमस्ति, कस्मात्? यतः कर्मणां  
फलजनकत्वमुच्यते वेदे” इति संग्रहेण सूत्रवाक्यार्थः सम्पद्यते। शबरस्वाम्यादिभिः  
अपूर्वस्वरूपादिकं विस्तरेण प्रत्यपादि।

“दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां स्वर्गकामो यजेत” “चित्रया यजेत पशुकामः” इत्याद्या-  
म्नायसमाम्नानेषु यागादीनां स्वर्गादिफलं प्रति साधनत्वम् अवगम्यते। यागादिश्च  
अनेककारकसाध्या क्रिया। यागरूपया क्रियया करणभूतया स्वर्गाख्यं फलं  
भावयेदिति श्रुत्यर्थं निर्धारयन्ति भाट्टाः। क्रियाद्विक्षणावस्थायिनीति सर्ववादिसम्मतता।  
अतः सा आशुतरविनाशिनी इति प्रसिद्धिमुपगतवती शास्त्रचिन्तकानाम्। आशुतर-  
विनाशित्वं च तृतीयक्षणावृत्तिध्वंसप्रतियोगित्वम्। फलं च स्वर्गादि कालान्तर-  
भावि। कार्यप्राक्क्षणावच्छेदेन तदुत्पत्त्यनुकूलतया यन्नियमेन वर्तते तदेव हि  
कारणमिति कारणलक्षणमाचक्षते तद्विचक्षणाः। बहुकालानन्तरभाविस्वर्गादिः प्राक्-  
क्षणे अविद्यमानः यागः कथङ्कारं स्वर्गं प्रति कारणत्वं निर्वहेत्? तथा च श्रुतिबोधितः  
कार्यकारणभावः कथं संजाघटीति? न च श्रुतेः निर्विचिकित्सप्रामाण्यात् तदबलादेव  
कार्यकाले असन्नपि यागः फलं साधयितुमीष्टे, अथवा याग एव फलकालपर्यन्तम्  
अवस्थास्यते, स्वस्य स्वर्गकारणत्वस्य श्रुतस्य निर्वाहार्थमिति आस्थातव्यम् इति  
वाच्यम्। यतः बहोः कालात् पूर्वमेव विनष्टस्य असतः यागस्य कार्यारम्भकत्वं  
सर्वप्रमाणविरुद्धम्। कारणस्य कार्यनियतपूर्ववृत्तित्वं प्रत्यक्षादिभिः प्रमिमीमहे।  
तथा च श्रुतेः प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमितविरुद्धार्थबोधकत्वापत्तिः। किं च एवं सति दशभ्यो  
दिनेभ्य ऊर्ध्वं जनिष्यमाणतृप्त्युद्देशेन अद्यैव तत्कारणे भजने प्रवृत्तिः प्रसज्येत।  
क्षणिकत्वेन प्रसिद्धस्य फलकालं यावत् अवस्थानमित्यपि बालालापकल्पम्।  
तथा च श्रुतिप्रामाण्यात् नष्टस्यापि फलारम्भकत्वं, फलपर्यन्तावस्थायित्वं वेति  
रिक्तं वचः।

अपि च प्रत्यक्षादिबाधितार्थविषयकज्ञानजनकत्वाङ्गीकारे अनधिगताबाधिता-  
र्थविषयकज्ञानजनकत्वलक्षणं श्रुतेः प्रामाण्यं भङ्ग्यति। पुरुषहितैषिणी जिघृक्षितस्य  
जिहासितस्य च अर्थस्य प्राप्तौ परिहरणे च उपायमुपदेष्टुमादेष्टुं वा प्रवृत्ता खलु

श्रुतिः मातृवत्। “पुत्रस्य हितमन्विच्छेत् प्रसूरेव न चेतरे” इति सार्वजनीना लौकिकी सूक्तिः भुवनेषु जेजीयते। अत्र हितमेवान्विच्छेदित एवकारस्य व्युत्क्रमेण अन्वयः। प्रसूः पुत्रस्य हितमेवान्विच्छेत्। इतरा तु न हितमेव, कदाचित् अहितमपीति भावः। किं च मातृत्वस्य पुत्रहितैषिणीत्वव्याप्यत्वं ग्राहयन्ती “कुपुत्रो जायेत क्वचिदपि कुमाता न भवति” इति भगवत्पादीया सूनुता भारती कस्य वा चेतनावतः हृदयतलं न स्पृशति। “मातापितृसहस्रेभ्योऽपि गरीयसी भगवती श्रुतिः” इति, “अतिसूक्ष्मबुद्धिविषयत्वात् ज्ञेयस्य ‘निबोधत’ इति श्रुतिरनुकम्पया आह “मातृवत्” इति च श्रुतेः अनितरसाधारणं माहात्म्यं दर्शयन्ति भगवत्पादाः कठोपनिषदभाष्ये। एवं महदभिः मातृस्थाने मूर्धाऽभिषिक्ता श्रुतिः वितथं कथं कथयेत्? पुरुषहितबुबोधप्रियया प्रवृत्ता विपरीतमर्थं ब्रुवाणा वज्रकत्वं प्रतारकत्वं विप्रलम्भकत्वं वा कथमतिवर्तेत?

किं च स्वविषयशूराणि हि सर्वाणि प्रमाणानि। न ह्येकेन प्रमाणेन अवगमिन् वस्तु अपवदितुमन्यत्रमाणं पारयिष्यु। तथा च न श्रुतिः प्रत्यक्षं विरुद्ध्यत। न च प्रत्यक्षविरोधात् श्रुतिरपि हातव्या। अत एव एकत्र परस्परविरुद्धज्ञानजनकप्रमाण-द्वयसन्निपाते परस्परपरिहारेण असांकर्येण विषयं व्यवस्थाप्य विरोधपरिहारद्वारा द्वयोरपि प्रमाणयोः प्रामाण्यमुपपादयन्ति प्रेक्षावन्तः। तस्मात् यागादिषु श्रुतं स्वर्गादिसाधनत्वं प्रमाणान्तराविरोधेन निर्वोढव्यम्। श्रुतिप्रामाण्यं च परित्राणीयम्, आपाततः प्राप्ताप्रामाण्यशङ्कापङ्कप्रक्षलणेन। तत्कथमिति चेत्, इत्थम् — स्वर्गादिफलं प्रति यागादेः श्रुतं कारणत्वं तावदव्याहतम्, श्रुतेरनतिशङ्कनीय-प्रमाणत्वात्। नष्टस्य यागस्य फलेन व्यग्रधानं महता कालेन। कारणस्य कार्यादव्यवहितपूर्वकालवृत्तित्वम् अवर्जनीयम्। तथा च कारणस्य फलपर्यन्त-मवस्थितिरावश्यिकी। एवं च स्वयं नश्यत् अपि कारणं, कार्यजनकं कार्यकालपर्य-न्तावस्थायिनं शक्त्याख्यं कंचित्पदार्थमुत्पाद्य नश्यति इत्यभ्युपेयम्। एवमङ्गीकारे प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणविरोधः परिहृतो भवति, शक्तेः फलकालं यावदवस्थित्य-ङ्गीकारात्। श्रुतस्य यागनिष्ठकारणत्वस्य अन्यथानुपपत्त्या तदुपपादकः शक्त्यारव्यः पदार्थः प्रतीयते। एवमाशुतरविनाशिनः यागस्य स्वर्गं प्रति कारणत्वं श्रुतं शक्तेरुत्पादनं विना अनुपपद्यमानं सत् शक्तिं कल्पयतीति अर्थापत्तिः शक्तिरूपेण प्रमाणम्। श्रुतस्यार्थस्य उपपादकत्वात् श्रुतार्थापत्तिः सा, दृष्टार्थापत्तितो विलक्षणा। उक्तां यागजन्यां शक्तिमेव अपूर्वमिति व्यवजरीहर्ति शास्त्रविदां संसत्। अथवा अर्थापत्त्या कल्प्यमानः यागस्य अवान्तरव्यापारः अपूर्वम् इत्यपि भाट्टानां सम्प्रतिपन्नम्। व्यापारो वा शक्तिर्वा अपूर्वमस्तु। सर्वथा तयोः कारणकोटाव-न्तर्भावः। वार्तिककारास्तु अपूर्वं फलकोटावन्तर्भावयन्ति। यागस्य समाप्त्यनन्तरं स्वर्गादिफलमेव अपूर्वात्मना उत्पद्यते। किं तु तदानीमपूर्वं सूक्ष्मावस्थमुच्यते

काले स्वर्गात्मना स्थूलरूपेण अभिनिष्पद्यते। सर्वमपि कार्यं जायमानं द्रागेव स्थूलरूपेण न जायते। प्रथमं सूक्ष्मरूपेण उत्पद्य अन्ते स्थूलावस्थां समासीदति। क्षीरादि आतज्यनाव्यवहितोत्तरणे एव न स्थूलं दधि भवति। तथापि तदनन्तरक्षणे एव अत्यन्तसूक्ष्मावस्थं दधि भवति। क्रमेण सूक्ष्मता प्रतिक्षणं परिहीयमाणा सती अन्ते सर्वात्मना विलीयते। यदा विलीयते तदा स्थूलावस्थां प्राप्नोति दधि। बीजाङ्कुरादिषु निखिलेषु कार्यस्थलेषु एषैव रीतिः — इत्यपि पक्षान्तरमाहुः। आत्मन्येव स्वर्गादिफलस्य स्थितिः इति तत्कारणत्वेन प्रमीयमाणमपूर्वमप्यात्मन्येवोत्पद्यते इति आत्माधिकरणत्वमपूर्वस्य एष्टव्यम्।

अपूर्वमेवमलिलक्षन् पूर्वमीमांसावार्तिककाराः —

कर्मभ्यः प्रागयोग्यस्य कर्मणः पुरुषस्य वा।

योग्यता शास्त्रगम्या या परा, सापूर्वमिष्यते॥

प्रधानकर्मणामङ्गकर्मणाञ्चानुष्ठानात् प्राचीनं स्वर्गादिप्राप्त्ययोग्यता पुरुषस्याभूत्। प्रधानानि अङ्गानि कर्माणि च अनुष्ठितानि तामयोग्यतां व्युदस्य पुरुषस्य स्वर्गप्राप्तियोग्यतां सम्पादयन्ति। यागजनिता योग्यतैव अपूर्वमिति अस्मिन् शास्त्रे अपदिश्यते। पुंसां यागादिभिराहितं फलप्राप्तिसामर्थ्यं यागानुष्ठानात् पूर्वमभूतम्, अनुष्ठानानन्तरं भवति इति अपूर्वशब्दस्य यौगिकत्वं व्युत्पादयन्ति वार्तिककाराः।

एषोऽत्र अपूर्वकल्पनाप्रकारः — प्रथमं तावत् “ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेत” इति वाक्यात् यागस्य फलसाधनत्वमवगम्यते — यागेन स्वर्गं भावयेदिति। कथमाशुतरविनाशिना यागेन फलं कर्तुं शक्यते इत्याकांक्षायामपूर्वं सम्पाद्य फलं कर्तुं शक्यम् इत्युच्यते। कथमपूर्वं करणीयं इत्याकांक्षा तु अङ्गानुष्ठानप्रकारेण इत्यनेन शाम्यति। ततः पौर्वापरकालिकैः अङ्गव्यापारैरुपकृतस्य प्रधानयागस्यापूर्वसाधनत्वं न साक्षात् सम्भवति, तस्यापि विनश्वरत्वात्। अतः अङ्गसाहित्यसिद्ध्ये प्रधानमात्रजन्यं उत्पत्त्यपूर्वं किञ्चित् कल्प्यते। अङ्गान्यपि क्रतूपकारीणि क्षणिकत्वात् स्वरूपेण सम्भूय उपकर्तुं न प्रभूनि इति तत्तदङ्गस्य प्रत्येकं एकमुत्पत्त्यपूर्वं कल्प्यते। ततः सर्वाणि अपूर्वाणि संहत्य प्रधानमुपकृत्य प्रधानापूर्वेण सह फलापूर्वमारभन्ते। अङ्गापूर्वाणां प्रधानापूर्वस्य उपकारो नाम प्रधानापूर्वे फलोत्पादनसामर्थ्योद्बोधनमेव। फलापूर्वमेव परमापूर्वमित्यपि सङ्गिरन्ते विपश्चितः। इत्थं भाट्टमतानुसारेण अनतिविस्तराभिः गीर्भिः अपूर्वपदार्थो न्यरूपि॥

इत ऊर्ध्वं गुरुमतानुरोधेन अपूर्वं मीमांसामहे। अत्र मते अपूर्वप्रक्रिया अन्यादृशी पूर्वस्मान्मतात् अत्यन्तविलक्षणा दरीदृश्यते।

पूर्ववत् “ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेत” इति कृतकेतरं वाक्यमवलम्ब्य अपूर्वशब्दार्थस्वरूपावधारणं, तदवधारणोपयोगि यदन्यत् औपोद्घातिकं प्रासंगिकं

आक्षिप्तं वा, तस्य तस्य यावानंशः प्रकृतापेक्षितः तावन्मात्रेण तेषामप्यर्थानां निर्धारणं प्रतिजानीमहे।

अत्र ज्योतिष्टोमपदं यागविशेषस्य वाचकम्। स्वर्गकामपदं पदद्वयघटित-समासरूपम्। तत्र स्वर्गशब्दः साध्यात्मकं फलमाचष्टे, फलविषयिणीं पुरुषेच्छां च कामशब्दः। समस्तं स्वर्गकामपदं नियोज्यं पुरुषमभिधत्ते। यजेत इति तिङन्तं धातुप्रत्ययसमुदायरूपं पदम्। तत्र 'यज्' इत्यंशः धात्वाख्यः। 'त' इति प्रत्ययांशः लिङ् इति शब्देन व्यवहार्यः। अत्र प्रत्ययशब्देन विध्यर्थे पाणिनिना ये ये प्रत्ययाः अष्टाध्याय्यां विहिताः लिङ्, लोट्, लेट् इति त्रयो लकाराः कृत्याधिकारे च विहिताः सर्वेऽपि प्रत्ययाः संग्राह्याः।

यजधातोः यजनरूपा क्रिया अर्थः। सैव भावः इति कर्म इति च मीमांसाशास्त्रे व्यवहारपदवीमारूढा। प्रत्ययस्य कृतिः कार्यमिति अभिधेयद्वयम्। तत्र कार्यं प्रधानं, कृतेः साध्यं च, नियोग इति शब्देन अपूर्वमिति शब्देन चाभिधीयते शास्त्रे।

कृतिः प्रयत्नात्मिका। भावनाशब्दोऽपि कृतेरेव वाचकः। आत्मव्यापारः पुरुषप्रयत्नः इत्यादीनपि शब्दान् अस्मिन्नेवार्थे पर्यायेण प्रयुज्जते लब्धवर्णाः। कार्यमपेक्ष्य सा गुणभूता इति निगद्यते। “यदधिकृत्य कृतिः प्रवर्तते तत् कृतेः प्रधानम्” इति प्रकरणपञ्चिका।

ननु क्रियैव कार्यतया लिङादिघटितेभ्यः लौकिकेभ्यः वैदिकेभ्यश्च वाक्येभ्यः प्रतीयते इति लोकप्रसिद्धिः। तत्कथं कार्यं नाम किञ्चित् अश्रुतपूर्वमवगम्यत इति चेत् श्रूयताम् — लोके तावत् शक्तिग्राहकाणि प्रमाणानि सन्ति अनेकानि, 'शक्तिग्रहं व्याकरणोपमान' इति प्राचीनकारिकायां परिगणितानि। तेषु वृद्धव्यवहार एव सर्वश्रेष्ठत्वेन इष्यते प्राभाकरैः। व्याकरणाद्यपेक्षया तस्यैव प्रथमप्रवृत्तत्वात्। अत एव ज्येष्ठत्वमभ्यर्हितत्वं च। बालस्य सर्वप्रथमं वृद्धव्यवहारादेव व्युत्पत्तिरुत्पद्यते। प्रथमप्रवृत्तस्य परित्यागे प्रमाणाभावात्। तस्मादसति बाधे सर्वत्र वृद्धव्यवहारादेव शक्तिः निर्णया। वृद्धव्यवहारात् कार्यपरत्वमेव वाक्यानामवसीयते। तथाहि — गामानय इत्यादि वाक्यं श्रुतवान् मध्यमवृद्धः गवानयनं मम कार्यमित्यवगच्छति; तदनन्तरं गवानयने प्रवर्तते। एवं च कार्यताज्ञानं प्रवर्तकम्। यावत् गवानयनं मम कार्यम् इति नावधारयति तावत् नैव प्रवर्तते गवानयने। ननु लिङादीनां कार्ये व्युत्पत्तिः कथमवगम्यत इति चेत् इत्थम् — लिङादिघटितपदयुक्तवाक्यश्रवणानन्तरं जायमानां मध्यमवृद्धस्य प्रवृत्तिं दृष्ट्वा व्युत्पत्तिस्मान्नः बालः प्रवृत्तेः हेतुत्वेन कार्यज्ञानम् अनुमिमीते। अनुमानप्रकारश्चेत्थम् — देवदत्तस्य प्रवृत्तिः कार्यज्ञानपूर्विका बुद्धिपूर्वकत्वे सति प्रवृत्तित्वात् मदीयप्रवृत्तिवत्। एतादृशकार्यज्ञानं च वाक्य-श्रवणसमनन्तरकालजन्यमिति वाक्यस्यैव कार्यज्ञानहेतुत्वमध्यवस्यति। कस्य गब्दस्य कोऽर्थ इति आवापोद्वापाभ्यां निश्चिनोति।

लिङाद्यावापे कार्यज्ञानदर्शनात् तदुद्वापे चादर्शनात् लिङादय एव कार्यज्ञानं जनयन्ति शब्दान्तरवत् इति लिङादीनां कार्ये व्युत्पत्तिः सिद्ध्यति। ननूक्तानुमाने बालः स्वकीयां प्रवृत्तिं दृष्टान्तयति। स्वप्रवृत्तेः कार्यज्ञानव्याप्यत्वं स कथं प्रमिमीते? कार्यं प्रधानं कृतिसाध्यमिति पूर्वमवोचाम। कृतिः प्रयत्न इति च।

तत्र कृत्यपेक्षया प्राधान्यं च कृत्युद्देश्यत्वम्। कृतिसाध्यं प्रधानं चेति कार्यस्वरूपम्। तथा च कृतिसाध्यत्वे सति कृत्युद्देश्यत्वम् इति कार्यलक्षणं परिनिष्ठिति। प्रयत्ने सति भावात् असति चाभावात् कृतिसाध्यत्वमनुमानेनावगम्यते। यदर्थं प्रयत्नः भवति तत् प्रधानम्। प्रयत्नश्च मानसप्रत्यक्षगोचरः। अनुमानेन कृतिसाध्यत्वप्रमितिः जायते। तदनन्तरं कृतिविषयकमानसप्रत्यक्षसमये अनुमितिजनितः कृतिसाध्यत्वविषयकसंस्कारोऽपि मनसि वर्तते। तथा च अनुमिति-जनितसंस्कारसमवहिते अन्तःकरणे कृतिविषयकमानसप्रत्यक्षस्य मेलने सति कृतिसाध्यत्वविशिष्टकृत्युद्देश्यत्वरूपलक्षणलक्षितः कार्यपदार्थोऽपि मनसा अवगम्यते इत्यायाति। यथा प्रत्यभिज्ञास्थले संस्कारापरोक्षानुभवयोः सङ्कलनेन सोऽयं देवदत्तः इति तद्देशतत्कालविशिष्टस्यापि देवदत्तस्य प्रत्यक्षं भवति तद्वत्। तथा च बालस्य कार्यज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्यां सम्भवति। एवं च दृष्टान्ते प्रवृत्तित्वकार्यज्ञानयोः व्याप्तिः गृह्यते इति दृष्टान्तसिद्धौ अन्यत्र सर्वत्र वाक्यश्रवणानन्तरोत्पन्नायां प्रवृत्तौ कार्यज्ञानमेव कारणमिति अनुमानेन सिद्ध्यति। तथा च लिङादीनां कार्ये एव शक्तिरिति निर्विवादम्।

यजेत इत्यत्र लिङः कृतिः तत्साध्यं कार्यं चेति अर्थद्वयमुक्तम्। अनन्तरं लिङः कार्यार्थकत्वम् अवाधारि। इदानीं कृतिरपि लिङर्थ इति निरूप्यते। कृतिसाध्यं कार्यम्। अतः कार्यस्थले कृतिरवश्यंभाविनी। कृतिमन्तरा कार्यस्य आत्मलाभासम्भवात्। ततश्च कृतेरपि वाक्यार्थे अवश्यं अन्तर्भावो वक्तव्यः; कृतिसाध्यत्वरूपकार्यस्य लिङाद्यर्थस्य विशेषणीभूतत्वात् कृतेः प्रयत्नरूपायाः। न च अन्यः तादृशः शब्दो वाक्ये अस्ति यः कृतिम् अभिदध्यात्। यतश्च कृत्यविनाभूतं कार्यं तस्मात् कार्याभिधायिना लिङादिनैव तस्या अपि अभिधानमभ्युपेयम्। न ह्यनभिधीयमानायां कृतौ तत्सम्बन्धि कार्यम् अभिहितं स्यात्। उक्तं च प्रकरणपञ्चिकायाम् — कार्याभिधायिनो लिङादयः कार्यस्यान्यथानभिधानात् कृत्यभिधायिनः इष्यन्ते, गौतमीया अपि आख्यातस्य कृतौ शक्तिमभ्युपयन्ति इति। न च एकस्य यौगपद्येनानेकार्थाभिधानं दोषमावहति। एकस्यैव युगपदनेकार्थ-बोधकत्वस्यात्राङ्गीकारात्। यथा अत्रैव कार्याभिधायिनां लिङादीनां कर्त्रादि-गतसंख्यावाचकत्वमपि।

ननु क्रियामेव लोकः कार्यमिति मन्यते। तत्रैव च लोके कार्यमिति प्रतिपत्तिः व्यपदेशश्च दृश्यते। तथा च क्रियाव्यतिरिक्ते कार्ये कार्यप्रतिपत्तिव्यपदेशयोः स्वीकारे लोकविरोधः समुज्जृम्भते इति चेत् — सत्यम्। लोके क्रियायां



कार्यप्रत्ययव्यपदेशौ इत्यत्र न विवदामहे। किं तु तत्र प्रतिपत्तिव्यपदेशौ लाक्षणिकौ। यतः कार्यं क्रियासाध्यम्। न च कार्यं धात्वर्थभूतां क्रियां साधनम् अनाश्रित्य स्वातन्त्र्येण क्वचित् उदेतुमर्हति। तेन तस्याः नित्यसम्बद्धत्वात्। तथा च कार्यस्थले क्रिया अवश्यंभाविनी। तत्र पूर्वोक्तरीत्या कार्यस्य लिङाद्यर्थत्वेन अवधारणात् तदभिधायिनः कार्यशब्दस्य अन्यत्र क्रियायां प्रयोगः, कार्यत्वेन प्रत्ययो वा लाक्षणिकः। तस्मान्न लोकविरोधः। तदेवं लौकिकवैदिकसाधारणस्य लिङादिमात्रस्य कार्याभिधायकत्वं न्यरूपाम।

सम्प्रति वैदिकलिङादिविषये विशेष उच्यते। यजेत इत्यत्र लिङः कार्यपरत्वे निर्णीत कस्य इदं कार्यमित्याकांक्षा परिस्फुरति। तेन श्रुतेन स्वर्गकामपदेन कार्यं सम्बध्यते। तत्र स्वर्गादिः फलं पुरुषनिष्ठकामनायाः विषयभूतं चेत् पूर्वमभाणि। स्वर्गादिः साध्यः। कामनायाः सर्वत्र साध्यविषयत्वाव्यभिचारात्। न हि कामना सिद्धे वस्तुनि कस्यचित् क्वचित् दूष्टचरी श्रुतचरी वा। तेन काम्यमानत्वेन स्वर्गादिः पुंसः विशेषणं भवति। ततश्च साध्यभूतस्वर्गादिविषयकामनावान् इति स्वर्गकामपदस्यार्थः निर्गलति। एवं च स्वर्गकामपदं कस्येदं कार्यम् इत्याकांक्षायाः पूरणार्थमपेक्षितं पुरुषविशेषं समर्पयति।

तथा च स्वर्गकामनावान् पुरुषः ममेदं कार्यमिति प्रतिपद्यते। स्वर्गकामपद-समर्पितस्य पुरुषस्य लिङर्थेन कार्येण कार्यबोद्धत्वेनैव अन्वयो वक्तव्यः। यः इदं मत्कृतिसाध्यं इत्यवैति सः नियोज्यशब्देन शास्त्रे व्यवह्रियते। स च नियोज्यः स्वकामनाविषयस्य स्वर्गादिः साध्यस्य यत् साधनं तदेव कार्यत्वेन बुध्यते नेतरत्। यतो हि फलप्रेप्सुः साधने एव नियमेन प्रवर्तते नेतरत्र। किं तत् साधनं यत् नियोज्यः लिङर्थं कार्यमवेयात्? स्यादेतत्। धातुवाच्या यागादिक्रियैव कार्यमस्तु। स्वर्गरूपस्य फलस्य साधनं भविष्यति। न च नश्वर्याः यागक्रियायाः चिरकालानन्तरभाविनः स्वर्गादिः साधनत्वं कथं घटेत इति वाच्यम्। श्रुतस्य यागसाधनत्वस्य अन्यथानुपपत्त्या यागक्रियाजन्यं फलोदयानुकूलं फलपर्यन्तस्थापि किञ्चित् आत्मवृत्तितया कल्प्यताम्। कल्प्यमानस्य तस्य लिङादिवाच्यत्वं मास्तु इति। तदेतन्न शोभते वेदस्य निरपेक्षप्रामाण्यवादिनाम्। यतः अन्यथानुपपत्त्या कल्प्यमानं वस्तु क्रियायाः फलसाधनत्वम् उपपादयितुं न क्षमते। कल्पितमेव फलस्य साधनं स्यात् तस्यैव फलजनकत्वात्। यागादिक्रिया तु कल्प्यमानस्य साधनस्य जननी अर्थात् साधनस्य साधनम्। न हि स्वसाधनस्य साधनं स्वस्य साधनं भवितुमर्हति। अन्यथासिद्धेः। न च कल्प्यमानं वस्तु यागस्य शक्तिः, अवान्तरव्यापारो वा तेन स्वर्गनिरूपितयागनिष्ठकारणताया न काचित् क्षतिः इति वाच्यम्। कार्यजनने शक्तानां व्यापारवत्त्वेनैव साधनत्वम्। यागक्रियायाः नाशे निराश्रया शक्तिः व्यापारो वा क्व तिष्ठेत्। न च शक्तिः शक्तिमदव्यतिरेकेण, व्यापारो वा व्यापारिव्यतिरेकेण अन्यत्र अवस्थातुं प्रगल्भते।

तस्मात् श्रुतं यागस्य स्वर्गसाधनत्वं निर्वोढुमर्थापत्तिः न प्रभवी। प्रमाणान्तरं तु दूरोत्सारितम्। तर्हि कथमत्र निवाह इति चेत् श्रूयताम् — यतः प्रमाणान्तरं नात्र क्रमते अतः येन प्रमाणेन स्वर्गसाधनत्वं यागस्य प्रमितं तेनैव प्रमाणेन तन्निर्वोढव्यम्। तेन यत् बहुकालानन्तरभाविनः स्वर्गादिः साधनत्वेन आत्मसम्बन्धित्वेन च इष्यते तदपि श्रुत्यैव आवेद्यते इत्युपेयम्। सा च श्रुतिः लिङादिरेव। तदेव साधनं क्रियाया अतिरिक्तं कार्यमित्यवैति नियोज्यः। नियोज्यविशेषणीभूतस्य काम्यस्य स्वर्गादिः जनकं लिङादिवाच्यं कार्यम् इति फलति। अतः नियोज्यान्वयमुखेन नियोज्यात्मसमवायि कालान्तरे फलोत्पादनक्षमं कार्यं लिङादिभिः अभिधीयत इति पर्यवस्यति। ज्योतिष्टोमाख्ययागविषयकं स्वर्गकामस्य कार्यमिति कार्यमुख्य-विशेष्यकः प्रकृतवाक्यार्थबोधः सम्पद्यते। तदिदं यागादीनाम् अत्यल्पायुषां चिरकालानन्तरभाविनः स्वर्गादीन् प्रति श्रुतस्य साधनत्वस्य निर्वोढु वैदिकलिङाद्यर्थः कार्यं वेदव्यतिरिक्तप्रमाणागोचरत्वेन। अत एव मानान्तरापूर्वत्वेन “अपूर्वम्” इति वेदार्थनिर्णयाय प्रवृत्तैः श्रुतिपारदृश्वभिः मीमांसकाग्रेसरैः जेगीयते। एवं च वैदिकलिङादिभिरभिधीयमानं कार्यं, लौकिकलिङादिवाच्यात् कार्यात् विलक्षणं सत् अपूर्वमित्याख्यां लभते। लौकिकं लिङादिवाच्यं कार्यं प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्यां प्रमीयत इति पूर्वं प्रत्यतिष्ठिपाम। वैदिकलिङाद्यभिधेयम् अपूर्वं तु श्रुत्येकसमधिगम्यमिति विवेकः।

इदमेव अपूर्वं नियोग इति शब्देनापि व्यपदिशन्ति मीमांसायामधीतिनः। कथं नियोगशब्दस्य अपूर्वं वृत्तिरिति ? अत्र ब्रूमहे — वैदिकलिङादिघटितवाक्यश्रवणा-नन्तरं ममेदं कार्यमिति यः प्रत्येति स नियोज्य इति पूर्वमभ्यधायि। यद् ज्ञात्वा अहमत्र नियुक्तोऽस्मि इति निश्चिनुते नियोज्यः तद् एव नियोग इत्युच्यते। अपूर्वाभिधं कार्यमवगम्य नियोज्यमात्मानं मन्यते। यतः अपूर्वं काम्यस्वर्गादिसाधनभूते स्वस्मिन् नियुङ्क्ते, पुरुषं प्रेरयति, अतः तत् नियोगोऽपि भवति। तथा च अपूर्वं नियोगः कार्यमित्यनर्थान्तरम्।

अपूर्वमेव वैदिकानां वाक्यानामर्थः। यस्मिन् वाक्ये यः प्राधान्येन प्रतिपाद्यते स एव तस्य वाक्यस्य अर्थः। अपूर्वस्यैव श्रौतेषु वाक्येषु प्राधान्यम्। पुरुषप्रयत्नरूपकृत्यविनाभूतायाः धात्वर्थरूपायाः क्रियायाः सर्वथा सर्वात्मना कार्योद्देशेनैव प्रवृत्तेः। यो यदुद्देशेन प्रवर्तते सः तं प्रति प्रधानम् इति खलु प्रधानलक्षणम्। तथा च वैदिकानां लिङादिसमन्वितानां वाक्यानामपूर्वार्थत्व-मव्याहतम्।

स्यादेतत् — यद् भवदभिः स्वर्गसाधनत्वयोग्यताबलेन अलौकिकः लिङादिवाच्यः नियोगपदार्थः अङ्गीक्रियते तदेतत् वरघाताय कन्योद्बहनम्। कथमिति चेत् — यं प्रति यत् साधनं सः तत्प्रति प्रधानम् इति भवन्तोऽभिप्रयन्ति। स्वर्गादिफलं प्रति अपूर्वं साधनमिति स्वर्गस्यैव प्राधान्यम्, अपूर्वस्य तु गुणत्वम्,

तथा च अपूर्वं प्राधान्यात् प्रच्यवेत इति। नायं दोषः अस्मन्मते प्रसरीसरीति। अयं दोषः तदा प्रासङ्ग्यतः यदि अपूर्वं स्वस्मात् अन्यस्य स्वर्गादिफलस्य सिद्ध्यर्थं व्यापरिष्यत। न तथा अत्र परिस्थितिः। न हि 'स्वर्गः अस्य भवतु' इति उद्देशेन पुरुषार्थमपूर्वं प्रवर्तते; परं तु 'कथंकारं पुरुषेण मम सिद्धिः भवेद' इति तस्मै स्वर्गं साधयति। यथा स्वामी स्वसिद्ध्यर्थमेव स्वशेषभूतगर्भदासायोपकरोति। तथा च स्वर्गादिफलजनकत्वमपूर्वस्य प्राधान्यं कथंचिदपि नोपरोत्स्यति।

एषा अत्र अपूर्वावगतिप्रक्रिया —

कौमारिलमत इव क्रमः, अत्रापि अपूर्वावगमे। तथाहि — विधिवाक्यात् प्रथममधिकारापूर्वमवगम्यते। एतदेव परमापूर्वमित्यप्युच्यते। इदमेवाफलोदयमनुवर्तते। प्रधानानुष्ठानादूर्ध्वं प्रधानोत्पत्त्यपूर्वं लब्धसत्ताकं भवति। तत्तदङ्गानुष्ठानानन्तरं तत्तदङ्गोत्पत्त्यपूर्वाणि जायन्ते। यथाक्रममुत्पन्नानि सर्वाणि अङ्गापूर्वाणि प्रधानापूर्वेण साकं सम्भूय फलापूर्वं निष्पादयन्ति अधिकारापूर्वापरिणामधेयं; तच्च फलकालपर्यन्तस्थेम।

अपूर्वाख्यस्य पदार्थस्याङ्गीकारः मतद्वयेऽपि अवर्जनीयः। मतद्वयेऽपि तस्य प्रयोजनमपि समानम्, यत् क्षणिकस्य यागस्य दीर्घकालान्तरितं फलं प्रति श्रुतं यद्धेतुत्वं तदुपपादकत्वेन। एवं स्थितेऽपि प्रयोजनस्य तौल्ये, अपूर्वसाधकलक्षण-प्रमाणयोर्विषये दृश्यते महदन्तरम्। भाट्टाः अर्थापत्त्या सुलभां सरणिमवलम्ब्य अपूर्वं साधयन्ति। प्राभाकरास्तु महता परिश्रमेण अतिगहनया दुरधिगमया च रीत्या श्रुतिप्रमाणेनैव साधयन्ति। तत् कस्य हेतोः इति उन्मज्जति जिज्ञासा।

विधिवाक्यान्तःपातिना येन शब्देन (प्रत्ययेन) कृतिरथवा भावना अभिधीयते तेनैव अपूर्वमपि उच्यते इति निरूपयन्तीति दृष्टमस्माभिः।

वेदः अपौरुषेयत्वेन असम्भाव्यमानदोषत्वात् शङ्कितदोषं प्रत्यक्षाद्यपेक्ष्य बलीयान्। प्रत्यक्षादीनां कदाचित् दोषाक्रान्तत्वात् तज्जन्यं ज्ञानं भ्रमः स्यात्। भ्रमकारणीभूतदोषकणिकयापि अस्पष्टत्वात् सर्वदा सर्वथा सर्वत्र सर्वात्मना तज्जन्यं ज्ञानं कदापि प्रमात्वं न व्यभिचरति। अत एव शास्त्रकाराः प्रमाणराजो वेद इति उररीकुर्वन्ति। "प्राबल्यमागमस्यैव जात्या तेषु त्रिषु स्मृतम्" इति मन्वादीनां क्रान्तदर्शिनां वाचोयुक्तिरपि इममेवार्थं दृढयति। यतः आम्नायः निर्दोषं प्रमाणं भवति, अत एव स निरपेक्षप्रमाणमपि भवति। प्रमाणे निरपेक्ष्यं नाम स्वेन प्रमायां जननीयायां प्रमाणान्तरसाहाय्यानपेक्षणमेव।

भाट्टमते यागस्य स्वर्गहितुत्वोपपादानाय अर्थापत्तिप्रमाणमवलम्ब्य फलकालं यावत् स्थास्तु अपूर्वं चलीकृत्यते। एवं च "ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेत" इति श्रुतिः अर्थापत्तिं लौकिकं व्याभिचारशङ्काकलङ्कितं प्रमाणमपेक्ष्यैव भट्टमते स्वार्थमाविर्भावयति इति भग्नं तस्या निरपेक्षप्रमाणत्वम्। न च श्रुतार्थापत्तिः प्रमाणमत्र, न दृष्टार्थापत्तिः; सैव श्रुतिमाश्रयते, न तु श्रुतिः तामाश्रयते, तथा च

कथं तस्या निरपेक्षप्रमाणत्वभङ्गः? इति चोदनीयम्। यदि अर्थापत्तिः नात्र मिलति तर्हि कथमपि श्रुतिः स्वार्थं नैव विवरीतुं शक्नुयात् इति श्रुतिरेवार्थापत्तिमाश्रयते इति निरपेक्षप्रमाणत्वक्षतितादवस्थ्यम्। प्रमाणान्तरापेक्षणे निरपेक्षप्रमाणत्वभङ्गः सर्वथा दुरुद्धरः।

तस्मात् वाक्यार्थस्य नैराकाङ्क्ष्येण साकल्यसंपत्तये सर्वोऽप्यर्थः श्रुतिवाक्येनैव समर्प्यते इति अवश्यमभ्युपेयम्। अपि च श्रुतेः शब्दरूपत्वात् कृत्स्नस्याप्यर्थस्य श्रुत्या समर्पणे एव श्रुतिजन्यं ज्ञानं शाब्दं स्यात्। प्रमाणान्तरापेक्षायां श्रुतिवाक्यात् लब्धस्य अर्थप्रत्ययस्य शाब्दत्वं नैव घटेत्। तस्मात् अपूर्वमपि श्रुत्यैव अभिधीयते इति वक्तव्यम्; विधिवाक्यप्रतिपाद्यस्यार्थस्य साकल्येन तदघटकशब्दैरेव प्रतिपाद्यमानत्वस्य उपपादितत्वात्। एवं विधिवाक्यार्थांशभूतानां, फलं, फलेच्छा, नियोज्यः, प्रयत्नः, अपूर्व, भावार्थः इत्येतेषां सर्वेषामेव निरपेक्षशब्दप्रमाण-प्रमेयत्वनिर्वाहाय श्रुतिवाक्यघटकैरेव पदैः समर्पणमवश्यप्राप्तम्। तत्र येन पदेन कार्यनिर्वर्तकयोः भावार्थप्रयत्नयोः अभिधानं तेनैव स्वर्गकारणीभूतस्य अपूर्वस्यापि अभिधानमित्यायाति, फलनियोज्येच्छावाचिनां शब्दानां तदभिधानायोगात्। भावार्थाभिधायकस्य धातोः तत्प्रतिपादने असामर्थ्यात्, भावार्थस्य कृतिं प्रति शेषत्वात् च। तस्मात् परिशेषात् फलरूपस्वर्गकारणस्य अपूर्वस्य लिङादि-प्रत्ययप्रतिपाद्यत्वं सिद्ध्यति। यतः फलस्य साक्षात् साधकं तस्मात्तदेव प्रधानम्, तदर्थमेव सर्वा प्रवृत्तिः। फलस्य नैव प्राधान्यम्, नान्तरीयकत्वात्। किं च फलस्य प्राधान्योपगमे फलार्थी एव श्रौतेषु कर्मसु प्रवर्तते, न फलानाकाङ्क्षी इति वेदस्य नित्यप्रमाणत्वमस्तमियात्। अननुष्ठानलक्षणप्रामाण्यं चापद्येत। तस्मात् शङ्कितसर्वदोषपरिहाराय, अवश्यापेक्षितमपूर्वं श्रौतलिङादिशब्दैरेव अभिधानीयम् इति अपूर्वस्य लिङादिवाच्यत्वं निर्विशङ्कं प्रतिष्ठापितवतां प्रभाकरगुरुणां मतं सर्वेषां वेदस्य नित्यनिरपेक्षप्रमाणत्ववादिनामास्तिकानामादरणीयमिति सर्वमनाकुलम्॥

## భారతీయవాస్తుశాస్త్రము\*

పరమేశ్వరనిర్మితమైన యీ బ్రహ్మాండములో గల భూమండలముపై సమస్త చరాచరజగత్తు (జీవరాశి) నివసించుచున్నదని, భూమండలమునకు దీని మీద మన్న జీవరాశికి ఖగోళములో నున్న సూర్యచంద్రాది గ్రహోదులకు అవినాభావ సంబంధమున్నదని, ఆ యాగ్రహగోళాల నుండి భూమండలముపై ప్రసరించుచున్న గ్రహకాంతుల ప్రభావముచే నీజగత్తు ప్రభావితమగుచున్నదని, అందు ఇతర గ్రహాలకంటె సూర్య గ్రహప్రభావమే అత్యంత ప్రబలమైనదని, సూర్యునియొక్క కిరణముల ప్రభావమువలన లభికభాగము జీవరాశికి సుఖదుఃఖములు సంభవించుచున్నవని, విజ్ఞానశాస్త్రవేత్తలు, భౌతికజ్ఞులు, సర్వవిజ్ఞానసృష్టికర్తలు అగు మహర్షులు మనకు శాస్త్రములను ఉపదేశించి యున్నారు.

జగద్వ్యాపారము నడచుటకు కాలమొక్కటే కాక దేశము, స్థానము కూడ ముఖ్యమైనవని దేశకాలసంబంధమును విచారించి కాలప్రధానముగ జ్యోతిశ్శాస్త్రమును, దేశ (భూమి) ప్రధానముగ వాస్తు శాస్త్రమును రచించిరి. కాలవశముచేత జరుగుసంఘటనలకెక్కువ ప్రాముఖ్యము నిచ్చినను, స్థానవిశేషము చేత గూడ జరుగు సంఘటనలను లెక్కలోనికి తీసుకొనవలసిన అవసరమొంతైనను గలదను విషయము ననేక సంఘటనలద్వారా తెలియుచున్నందున వాస్తుశాస్త్రము గూడ అవసరమైన శాస్త్రమే యగుచున్నది. ఈరెండింటికి అవినాభావసంబంధమున్నదనుటలో సందేహము లేదు.

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విశ్వకర్మవాస్తుశాస్త్రము, 3వ అధ్యాయములో

ఆదా కాలం పరీక్షేత సర్వకార్యార్థసిద్ధయే/  
కాలో హి సర్వజీవానాం శుభాశుభఫలప్రదః  
కాలాతిక్రమణే దోషో ద్రవ్యహానిశ్చ జాయతే//

అని చెప్పబడినది. సమస్తజీవులకు శుభాశుభఫలముల విచ్ఛుటలో కాలమే ముఖ్యమైనది. మంచి కాలమందారంభింపబడిన కార్యములు, ఇష్టసిద్ధిని పొందును. దోషకాలమందారంభింపబడిన పనులు దోషము విచ్ఛుటయే గాక ద్రవ్యహానిని గూడ కలిగించును. ఈ అధ్యాయములోనే “దేశభేదము”చేత కాలభేదము కూడ కలుగునని దేశమునకు ప్రాముఖ్యము యివ్వబడినట్లు యీక్రింద శ్లోకములో తెలుపబడినది.

దేశభేదేన కాలోఽపి భిన్నతాం ప్రతిపద్యతే/

దేశభేదముచేత కాలము గూడా భేదించును అని భావము.

భూమి సర్వజీవులకు రక్షణ కల్పించు శక్తి కందనే అభిప్రాయము గూడ విశ్వకర్మ చేత నిట్లు వివరింపబడినది:

స్త్రీ గర్భేణ యథా జీవో వర్ధతే భువి విత్యక్ః/  
తథా భూగర్భమాహత్యాత్ జీవరాశిస్తు వర్ధతే//

స్త్రీగర్భమందు జీవుడు (శిశువు) ఏ విధముగ వృద్ధిపొందుచున్నాడో అదే విధముగ భూమి తన గర్భమాహత్యము చేత అనగా తన యొక్క గర్భ(లోపల)భాగమందు గల శబ్దస్పర్శరూపరసగంధములనెడి పంచగుణప్రభావముచేత జీవరాశివంతటని వృద్ధి పొందింప చేయుచున్నదని భావము.

వాస్తుశాస్త్రకర్తలు శాస్త్రారంభమందు భూమండలపరిశీలన చేసి యీక్రింద విషయములను నిర్ణయించివారు:

భూమండల విభాగము

సమరాంగణసూత్రధారము (అ.రి) భూవిభాగవిధానమును ప్రస్తావించుచు దేశములు దేశభూములు, వాని వాని స్వరూపస్వభావములను గురించి వివరించెను.

దేశాశ్చ దేశభూమ్యశ్చ సమాసాత్తవ సంప్రతి/  
తత్సంఖ్యా తద్విభాగాశ్చ ప్రోచ్యంతేఽవహితః శ్రుణు//  
దేశః స్యాజ్జాంగలామాపసాధారణతయా త్రిథా/  
త్రివిధస్యాప్యథైతస్య యథావల్లక్ష్మ కథ్యతే//

దేశములు మూడురకములు: 1. జాంగలము, 2. అమాపము, 3. సాధారణము.

1. దూరప్రాంతమందు నీరు కలది, చవిటి నేలలు కలది, చిన్నముళ్ళుగల మెక్కలు గలది, రూక్షముగ, వేడిగ, ప్రచండముగ నుండు వాయుప్రసారము గలది, నల్లని నేలలు కలది జాంగలము.
2. ఎక్కువ నీటి సౌకర్యము కలది, పల్లముగ నుండునది, గట్టినేలలు కలది, చేపలు మాంసము ఎక్కువ నుండునది, చల్లదనము కలది, నదులు, దట్టమైన బలమైన చెట్లు మెలచు స్వభావముగలది అనూపము.
3. సమశీతోష్ణముగ నుండునది, పై నుదహరించిన రెండు దేశముల లక్షణములు కలది సాధారణ దేశము.

దేశములను మూడురకములగ విభజించిన తరువాత ఒక్కొక్క దేశమందు భూభేదముచేత నాయాప్రాంతములను 16 రకములుగ విభజించడమైనది. ఈ 16 రకములు పై మూడు దేశములందు ప్రాంతభేదములను బట్టి లక్షణ భేదములను బట్టి నిర్ణయించుటకు వీలగును. ఒకనాడు నిర్ణయించిన విధముగ మరొక సమయమందు కనుపించకపోయినను ఆయా ప్రాంతలక్షణములను బట్టి ఆయా భూములను గుర్తించుటకు వీలగును.

జాంగలాదిషు దేశేషు త్రిప్యప్యేషు స్వలక్షణైః/  
యుక్తాష్టోడశ విజ్ఞేయా భూమయః ప్రవిభాగతః//

పూర్వోక్తములైన జాంగల, అనూప, సాధారణములైన దేశములలోను 16 రకముల విభాగము లున్నవి. వానిపేర్లు లక్షణములు యీక్రింద విధముగ నున్నవి.

1. బాలిశస్వామిని:- మూర్ఖుడైన ప్రభువుచే పాలింపబడుచు, యోగ్యులైన ప్రజలతో కూడిన ప్రదేశము (ప్రజలు యోగ్యులై పరిపాలకుడు మూర్ఖుడుగ నున్నదేశము).
2. భోగ్య:- ఇతరులకు భోగభాగ్యములను ఇవ్వగలవారు, అధికధనవంతులు, పన్నులను సక్రమముగ కట్టడివారు గల ప్రాంతమునకు “భోగ్య” అని పేరు.
3. సీతాగోచరరక్షణి:- ఏ ప్రదేశమందు నదులు, నదములుండి, మధ్యయందుగావి, బాహ్యప్రదేశమందుగావి పర్వతములుండి, పంటభూములు కలిగి, క్షేత్రవిభాగములు గల దానిని “సీతాగోచరరక్షణి” యని పేరు.
4. అపాశ్రయవతి:- ప్రజలు భయభ్రాంతులై తమను రక్షించుకొనుటకు వదులతోను, పెద్ద సరస్సులతోను, అరణ్యముతోనుకూడినదానికి “అపాశ్రయవతి” యని పేరు (భయభ్రాంతులైన ప్రజలకు రక్షణ కల్పించగలదని భావము).

5. కాంత:- పెద్ద అరణ్యములు, చిన్న వనములు గలది, పర్వతములు, చిన్ననదులు, సెలయేళ్ళు గలది, అక్కడక్కడ మనోహరములగు పాదలు గలది, ప్రజలకు చూచుట తోడనే ఆనందమును కలిగించు ప్రకృతిరమణీయత కలదానిని “కాంత” యందురు.
6. ఖనిమితి:- వెండి, బంగారము, మొదలగు ధాతుద్రవ్యములు గలది, వివిధములైన లవణాదులు లభించు ప్రాంతమును “ఖనిమితి” అందురు. (వివిధములైన గనులు గల ప్రదేశముని భావము.)
7. ఆత్మధారిణి:- రాజశాసనములను చేయట, అర్హులైన ప్రజలు గలిగియుండుట, ధనమునకు లోటులేని స్థితి గలవారు నివసించుట వంటి లక్షణములు గలిగి ఉత్తమజనమునకాశ్రయముగ నుండు భూమి గల ప్రదేశమునకు “ఆత్మధారిణి” యని పేరు.
8. వణిక్పాసాధిత:- గొప్ప వ్యాపారములను చేయుచు, వ్యాపార కేంద్రముగ ప్రసిద్ధి నొందిన ప్రదేశమునకు “వణిక్పాసాధిత” యని పేరు.  
(ఏ దేశమందైనను కొన్ని ప్రదేశములు మాత్రమే ప్రసిద్ధి వ్యాపారకేంద్రములుగ శక్తి గలవగును. ఆ ప్రదేశమునందున్న వారికి వ్యాపారమును చేయుస్వభావము మెండుగ నుండుట, సమస్త వస్తువుల యొక్క వ్యాపారములు సమృద్ధిగ జరుగుట యుండును. ఇటువంటి మహానగరాశ్రయభూమి గల దానిని “వణిక్పాసాధిత” యందురు.)
9. ద్రవ్యమతి:- వివిధములైన మహావృక్షములు (టేకు, మద్ది, దేవదారు, మంచి గంధము, చండ్ర వంటి బలమైన వృక్షములు), వెదురు, పేము, రెల్లు మొదలగు పాదలు లేచు స్వభావము గల భూమిని “ద్రవ్యమతి” (ద్రవ్యమతి) అందురు.
10. అమిత్రఘాతినీ:- ఏప్రదేశమందు నివసించు ప్రజలు పరస్పరమైత్రీభావము కలిగి, సాత్త్విక స్వభావులై అన్యోన్య ప్రీతిభావముతో సంచరింతురో అట్టి భూమిని “అమిత్రఘాతినీ” అందురు.
11. ఆశ్రేణీపురుష:- యోగ్యమైన స్వభావము గలవారిచే రక్షింపబడు ప్రభుత్వ నివాసములు గలది, నీతిమంతులైన పురుషుల కాశ్రయమైన భూమి “ఆశ్రేణీపురుష” యనబడును.
12. శక్యసామంత:- సార్వభౌములకు అనుకూలమైన సామంత రాజులు గల భూమి, ప్రభువు యందు ఆదరభావముతో మెలగు స్వభావులుగల భూమి “శక్యసామంత” యనబడును.



13. దేవమాతృక:- నదులు, నదములు, సరస్సులు పుష్కలముగ వుండి పంట భూముల ఫలసాయముతో పుష్కలమైన ధనస్థితిని కలిగించుచు ఆనంద జీవనమును చేయు ప్రజలు గల భూమికి “దేవమాతృక” యని పేరు. ఈ భూమికి వర్షముతో నిమిత్తము లేదు.
14. ధాన్య:- అప్రయత్నముగనే అధికమైన పంటల నిష్పగలభూమి, ధాన్యాదులధికముగ పండగల శక్తి గల భూమి “ధాన్య” అనబడును.
15. హస్తీవనోపేత:- ఏ ప్రదేశమందు ఏనుగులు, అరణ్యములు, పర్వతములు విశేషముగ నుండునో అట్టి భూమి “హస్తీవనోపేత” యనబడుచు, సైన్యము యొక్క అభివృద్ధికి దోహదకారిగ నుండ గలదు. (ఇటువంటి ప్రదేశములందు సైన్యమును పెంచుట మంచిది.)
16. సురక్ష:- శత్రువులకు అభేద్యముగ నుండి విషమస్థితి గల పర్వతపంక్తి గల భూమిని “సురక్ష” యందురు.

ఆయా దేశములందాయా భూవిభాగము 16 రకములుగ చేయబడుట వలన ఆయా భూముల యొక్క గర్భములో నున్న పాంచభౌతికగుణములగు శబ్దస్పర్శరూపరసగంధముల యొక్క హెచ్చుతగ్గుల స్థితినినుసరించి వాని శక్తి సామర్థ్యములు పరిశీలించడము ద్వారా ప్రాచీనులీ నిర్ణయమును చేసినట్లు బోధపడుచున్నది.

ఇంతేకాక సృష్టి ప్రారంభమైన నాటినుండి కాలవశముచేత భూగర్భమందు భేదములేర్పడుననియ, ఒకనాడున్న భూగర్భశక్తి కాలాంతరములో మరొక విధముగ మార్పు చెందగలదని విశ్వకర్మ వాస్తువు(5.1-5) సృష్టము చేయచున్నది. గ్రంథబాహుళ్యమైనను ఆవిషయము వివరింపబడుచున్నది.

పురా భూమిరియం ధాత్రా విశాలా చ వసుంధరా/  
 జలాధారాన్వితా సృష్టా సశైలవనకాననా//  
 హిమవద్వింధ్యమలయైరన్యః కులమహీధరైః/  
 కనకాద్వైర్నివృత్తా హైరర్చితా చ సమంతతః//  
 తథాపి భూగర్భసారాత్ క్వచిత్స్వాదుజలాన్వితా/  
 క్వచిద్రసేన హీనా చ క్వచిదుష్ణా చ శీతతా//  
 క్వచిద్భీకరసత్వాధ్యా క్వచిత్సత్త్వఖగావృతా/  
 క్వచిదత్యంతసుఖదా క్వచిదుద్వేగకారిణీ//  
 ఇత్యేవం బహుధా జాతా కాలభేదేన భూరియమ్/  
 పరిక్షయేద్వాస్తుభూమిమతస్సలక్షణాన్వితామ్//

సృష్టి ప్రారంభమందు సమస్తవస్తు సముదాయముతో సృష్టింపబడిన యీ భూమి కాలభేదము చేత, భూగర్భ సారభేదము చేత మార్పు చెందుచు, ఒకప్పుడు మంచినీరు కలభూమి కాలాంతరములో మార్పు చెంది కషాయ జలము గలదిగ మారును. ఒకనాడు భీకరములైన అడవులతో, క్రూరజంతువులతో కూడిన భూమి కాలాంతరములో సత్త్వజంతువులతో కూడినదై ప్రజలకాహ్లాదమును కలిగించు ప్రశాంత భూమిగ మారును. ఈవిధముగ కాలభేదముచేత భూగర్భమందు గలుగు మార్పులను గమనించుట కాయా కాలములలో భూపరీక్షను చేయవలసి యుండును. ప్రశస్తమైన భూమిని గుర్తించవలయును. వాస్తుశాస్త్రనిర్వచనమందు భూమియే ప్రధానమైన వస్తువని తెలుపబడినది.

### వాస్తుశబ్ద నిర్వచనము

భూరేవ ముఖ్యవస్తు స్యాత్ తత్ర జాతాని యాని నై/  
ప్రాసాదాదీని వాస్తుని వస్తుత్వాత్ వస్తుసంక్రయాత్/  
వస్తున్నేవ హి తాన్నేవ ప్రోక్తాన్యస్మిన్ పురాతనైః//

భూమికి వస్తువనిపేరు. భూమినుండి నిర్మింపబడిన ప్రాసాదాదులు వాస్తువులన బడును. భూమి వస్తువగుటవలన, భూమి నాశ్రయించుకుని యున్న ప్రాసాదాదులు వాస్తువులగుటచేత వీనికి సంబంధించిన విషయములే యీ శాస్త్రమందు చెప్పబడుటచేత వాస్తువని, వాస్తుశాస్త్రమని వ్యవహరింపబడుచున్నది.

వాస్తుశాస్త్రములో చెప్పబడిన అంశములు: 1. గ్రామ నగరాది నిర్మాణములు, 2. సాధారణజనగృహములు, 3. ధనికగృహములు, 4. ప్రభువుల గృహములు -- ప్రభుసంబంధమైన సమస్త నిర్మాణములు, 5. దేవతానివాసములు (దేవాలయాదులు), 6. శిల్పము (శిల్పలక్షణ - ప్రతిమానిర్మాణములు), 7. చిత్రకర్మ అను అంశములు ముఖ్యముగ నుండును. భోజరాజు సమరాంగణసూత్రధారములో “యంత్రాధ్యాయ” మను ఒక ప్రత్యేకాధ్యాయము నుదహరించెను. ఇవియే గాక అనేకములైన ఇతర-రాంశములిందు వివరింపబడినవి. వాస్తు శాస్త్రము యొక్క మౌలికమైన వస్తువు భూమియగుటచేత శాస్త్రకర్తలు భూపరీక్షావిధానమును చెప్పియున్నారు.

భూపరీక్షావిధానము: భూమియొక్క గర్భపరీక్ష, బాహ్యపరీక్ష అని రెండు విధములు.

1. భూగర్భమందు గల శబ్ద, స్పర్శ, రూప, రస, గంధ సంబంధములైన ధ్వని, స్పర్శ, రంగు, రుచి, వాసనలను పరీక్షించుట, వానియొక్క శుభాశుభములను తెలుసుకొనుట.
2. బాహ్యపరీక్షలో ఖాతపరీక్ష, ప్రైభాగమందుగల వృక్షలతాదులవలన శుభాశుభములను తెలుసుకొనుట, ఆకారము, పరిసరములను బట్టి మంచుచెడ్డలను నిర్ణయించుట.

బాహ్యభ్యంతరపరీక్ష తరువాత ఆకృతివిశేషము వలన మంచిచెడ్డలను తెలుసుకొనుటలో స్థలము యొక్క కొలతలు ముఖ్యములై యుండును. చతురశ్రము, దీర్ఘచతురశ్రము అన్ని నిర్మాణాలకు శ్రేష్ఠము. త్రికోణము, చాటవంటి ఆకారము, మూలకొలతలు హెచ్చుతగ్గులు కలది దుఃఖహేతువు. ఇట్లు స్థలాకృతులను 35 రకముల వరకు నిర్ణయించి వాని మంచిచెడ్డలను నిర్ణయించుట ద్వారా స్థలస్వరూపఫలములు వివరింపబడినవి. సముదాయములో సర్వాకృతులలోను చతురశ్రదీర్ఘచతురశ్రాకృతులు సర్వ శ్రేష్ఠము.

నీటివాటములను గురించిన ఎత్తుపల్లముల విచారణ:

ఏ స్థలమునందైనను ఆగ్నేయము నుండి పడమరవరకు ఎత్తుగను వాయవ్యము నుండి తూర్పువరకు పల్లముగను వుండుట శ్రేయస్కరము. మరియు ఈశాన్యము నుండి నీరు పోవుట సర్వశ్రేష్ఠమనియు గలదు. వీనిలో అనేక విధములైన అవాంతర భేదములచే ఫలభేదములు చెప్పబడినవి. విశ్వకర్మ 'సమా భూమిః ప్రశస్తా స్వాత్' అనియు, 'సర్వేషాం చైవ జీవానాం సమభూమిః శుభావహా' యని ఎత్తు పల్లములు లేకుండ సమానస్థితి గల భూమి సర్వజనులకు శుభమును కలిగించునని వివరించెను.

ఈవిధములైన గర్భపరీక్ష, బాహ్యపరీక్ష, ఆకృతిపరీక్ష, ఉచ్చనీచ (ఎత్తుపల్లముల) పరీక్ష, నీటివాటములపరీక్ష అను 5 పరీక్షలు ప్రధానములు.

దిక్సాధనము: సకల భూపరీక్షావిధానముల చేత ఉత్తమ స్థితి గల భూమిని గ్రహించి అందు దిక్సాధనమును చేసి అష్ట దిక్కులను శుద్ధములుగ నుండునట్లు సాధించవలెను. దీనినే orientation అందురు.

### వాస్తుపదవిభాగము

దిక్సాధనద్వారా సమముగ చతురశ్ర లేక దీర్ఘచతురశ్రముగ చేయబడిన భూమిని లేక స్థలమును విభాగములు చేయువిధానమిందు చెప్పబడినది.

భూమిపై జీవించు సమస్తజీవరాశులపైన తేజస్సు, వాయువు ఆకాశములను జీవసంజ్ఞగల వానిలో సూర్యతేజస్సు భూమిపైపడిన వెంటనే యే విధముగ దాని సంచారముండునో అట్టి కాంతిసంచారభేదమును తెలుపుటయే “పదవిన్యాస” మను పేరుతో వ్యవహరింపబడినది. గ్రామ, నగర, గృహదినిర్మాణభేదములను బట్టి పద భేదమును గ్రహించి నిర్మాణక్రమమును చేయు విధానము, సూర్యకిరణసంచారవశముచే స్థలమందు సంభవించు శుభాశుభస్థాననిర్ణయము, వానిని స్థలమును వాస్తుపురుషునిగా భావించు పురుషాంగములందు దేవతానామముతో స్థానవిర్దేశమును చేయుట మొదలగు అనేక వైజ్ఞానికాంశము లిందు వివరింపబడినవి. ఈ పదవిభాగము మొత్తము 32





సకాశమును పొంది, తిరిగి క్రమముగ శక్తి తగ్గించుకొనుచు సాయాహ్లామున శక్తి హీనములగునని భావించబడుచున్నది.

స్థానభేదముచేత శక్తిభేదము గల యాకీరణములకు శక్తికి తగిన నామములియ్య బడినట్లు 'స్వనామసదృశం ఫల' మని నామసదృశఫలమును పొందునని తెలుపబడినది. ఈ దేవతలు మొత్తము ఆక్రమించిన 81 పదములలో నొక్కొక్క దేవతకు అధికార మీ క్రింద విధముగ బృహత్సంహిత 53వ అధ్యాయములో వర్ణింపబడినది:

## 1. మధ్య

మధ్యయందు	- బ్రహ్మకు	9 పదములు
తూర్పు	- అర్యమునకు	3 "
దక్షిణం	- వివస్వానునకు	3 "
పశ్చిమం	- మిత్రునకు	3 "
ఉత్తరం	- సృష్టిధరునకు	3 "

## 2. తూర్పు

జయంతునకు	2 పదములు
ఇంద్రునకు	2 "
సూర్యునకు	2 "
సత్యునకు	2 "
భృశునకు	2 "

## 3. దక్షిణం

వితథునకు	2 పదములు
బృహక్షతునకు	2 "
యమునకు	2 "
గంధర్వునకు	2 "
భృంగరాజునకు	2 "

## 4. పడమర

సుగ్రీవునకు	2 పదములు
కుసుమదంతునకు	2 "
వరుణునకు	2 "
అసురునకు	2 "
శేషునకు	2 "

## 5. ఉత్తరం

ముఖ్యునకు	2 పదములు
భల్లాటునకు	2 "
సోమునకు	2 "
భుజగునకు	2 "
అదితికి	2 "

దిక్కులందు, మధ్యయందు బ్రహ్మకు కలిపి 61 పదములు పోగా మిగిలిన 20వి ఒక్కొక్క విదిక్కునకు 5 పదముల చొప్పున 4 విదిక్కులకు 20 పదములు పంచబడినవి. గ్రంథాంతరములందు మతభేదములు కమపించుచున్నవి. పైన వ్రాసిన దేవతానామము లన్నియు సూర్యనామములే. సూర్యుని సప్తకీరణములకు సంచారవశము చేత కలుగు శక్తి నమసరించి నామభేదము లేర్పడినట్లు ప్రాచీనగ్రంథములందు గోచరించు చున్నది. ఈ దేవతలకు నాస్తుపురుషుని శిరఃప్రభృతి పాదాంతము వరకు స్థాననిర్దేశము చేయబడినది. గ్రంథవిస్తరతచే వ్రాయలేదు. ఇందు వృత్తము, త్రికోణము గూడ గలదు.

దీని తరువాత కిరణప్రసారజన్య సిరా, మర్మ, సంది నిర్ణయముని మరొక విశేషము గలదు. ఆ విషయమును గూడ పై చిత్రము ద్వారా వివరించడమైనది. ఏకాశీతిపదవాస్తుక్షేత్ర మందు ప్రసరించు సూర్యకిరణముల యొక్క సంచారము ననుసరించి కాంతిగమనసూచన విధానము తెలుపబడినట్లు ప్రాచీన వాస్తుపండితులు భావించియున్నారు. ఈ కోష్ఠకములో తూర్పుపడమరలకు 10 గీతలు, దక్షిణోత్తరములకు 10 గీతలు గీసినచో 81 గడులు వచ్చును. దీని తరువాత కోణరేఖలు నాలుగు దిక్కులను కలుపుతు, మూలలను. కలుపుతు గీయవలెను. అట్లు గీయబడిన యీ కోష్ఠకములో కొన్ని ప్రదేశములందు గీతల సంయోగమేర్పడును. వానిని బట్టి సీరాది పంజలను తెలిపి యుండిరి.

సంజ్ఞావివరణము:

1. తూర్పు పడమరలకు, దక్షిణోత్తరముల గీయబడిన నిలువు, అడ్డపు రేఖలు 20కి నాడులని పేరు.
2. ఈశాన్యము నుండి నైరృతికి, ఆగ్నేయము నుండి వాయవ్యమునకు ఒక్కొక్క కోణరేఖను గీయవలెను. కోణరేఖల కుభయపార్శ్వములందు 6 పదముల కొక్కొక్క కోణరేఖను, 3 పదముల కొక్కొక్క కోణరేఖను గీయవలెను. ఈ 8 రేఖలకు 2 పెద్దకోణ రేఖలకు రజ్జువులని పేరు. ఇట్లేర్పడిన వాస్తువు 10 రజ్జువులతోను, 20 నాడులతోను కూడి యుండును.
3. నాడీరజ్జువుల కలయికకు మర్మస్థానముని పేరు. ఈ నాడీరజ్జువుల కలయిక కొన్ని చోట్ల 3, మరి కొన్ని చోట్ల 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 నాడీరజ్జు సూత్రముల సంబంధము కలుగును.
4. 8 నాడీరజ్జువుల కలయికకు “మహామర్మ” యని పేరు. ఇట్టి మహామర్మలు 4 కలవు. బ్రహ్మస్థానమునకు 4 మూలలలోను యుండును.
5. 6 నాడీరజ్జువుల కలయిక వలన 36 కలయికలు వచ్చును. వీనికి “సంధులు” అని పేరు. ఇవి 2వ అవృత్తి యందు వచ్చును.
6. నాలుగు యొక్క కలయికలు నాడుల వలననే వచ్చును. ఇవి ప్రతిదిక్కు యందు 6 చొప్పున 4 దిక్కులందు 24 వచ్చును. ఇవి కర్ణ సూత్రములకు రజ్జువులకు మధ్యలో నుండును. వీనికి ఉపమర్మలని పేరు.

౨౦గ, మర్యాది వేధలకు ఫలములు:

గృహాదినిర్మాణములందు వాస్తుశిరోభాగము వేధింపబడినచో పశునాశము, వంశ-ధయందు మృత్యువు, సందివేధయందు ఇల్లు నదలిపోవుట, అనువంశవేధయందు

భయము, త్రిశూలవేధయందు గర్భనాశనము, లొంగలవేధయందు శిరోవ్యాధి. సూత్ర-  
చతుష్కవేధయందు వాహననాశనము, సూత్రషట్కవేధయందు శత్రుత్వము, మహా-  
మర్మవేధయందు యజమానికి మరణము, ఉపమర్మవేధలో భ్రాతృపుత్రక్షయము,  
మర్మవేధయందు వంశనాశనము కలుగును.

వేధయనగా గణితరీత్యా స్థలమందు గుర్తింపబడిన మహామర్మాదిస్థానములందు  
ద్వారములు, కిటికీలు, స్తంభములు మొదలగు వానిని పెట్టుటయని భావము. వీనిలో  
విశేషములు సమరాంగణాదులందు విశేషించి వ్రాయబడినవి. పైవిధముగ గృహ-  
నిర్మాణమునకు పూర్వమే యీ విషయములనన్నింటిని 'శిల్పి' బాగుగ గుర్తించి  
గృహరూపకల్పన చేయవలెను.

### గృహోదుల విధానము

గృహోది నిర్మాణములు ప్రధానముగ 4 విధములుగ విడదీయ వచ్చును.

1. సాధారణజన నివాసగృహములు.
2. ప్రభువుల నివాసములు - ప్రభుసంబంధములైన నిర్మాణములు.
3. దేవతానివాసములు.
4. సాంఘికప్రయోజనమునకు సంబంధించిన నిర్మాణాలు.

ఈ విధముగ ప్రాచీన భారతీయవాస్తుశాస్త్రము శాఖోపశాఖలుగ విస్తరించి సర్వ  
మానవ సుఖభోగభాగ్యదివృద్ధికి, క్షేమమునకు ఘాతమేగాక, పశుపక్ష్యాది నివాసాదులకు  
గూడ వివిధ నిర్మాణాదులను తెలిపియున్నది.

ఈ శాస్త్రము భారతీయులచే విరసింపబడుట జరిగినది. పాశ్చాత్యవిద్యాపారంగతు-  
లగు ఆధునిక ఇంజనీర్లు భారతీయవాస్తుశాస్త్రమును క్షుణ్ణముగ అధ్యయనము చేసిన  
లోకమునకు సుహృద్పకారము కాగలదు.



G. CHALAPATI

## సంకీర్తన భండారం (తాళ్లపాక అర)

బౌద్ధం మనకెన్నో విషయాన్ని నేర్పింది. హిందూ (వైదిక) దేవాలయాల నిర్మాణానికి, దారుశిలాలోహాది విగ్రహాలను ప్రతిష్ఠించి పూజించడానికి బౌద్ధస్థూపాలు, నిలువెత్తు బౌద్ధవిగ్రహాల ఆరాధన ఆధారాలు. బౌద్ధస్థూపాలు బౌద్ధమతకార్యకలాపాలకు కేంద్రాలు. బౌద్ధమత సిద్ధాంతాల చర్చ, బౌద్ధభిక్షుకులకు శిక్షణ, ప్రాకృతభాషలో వెలువడిన బౌద్ధగ్రంథాల ప్రదర్శన - పరిరక్షణ ఈ కార్యకలాపాలలో భాగాలు. మనదేశంలో మొట్టమొదట నాథపద్ధతిని ప్రవేశ పెట్టింది కూడ బౌద్ధమేనని చారిత్రకుల అభిప్రాయం. ముఖ్యంగా బుద్ధుని నిర్వాణం తరువాత బౌద్ధమత సిద్ధాంతాలను తాళపత్రాలపై రాయించడం బౌద్ధసంప్రదాయంగా మారింది. ప్రముఖశాసనశాస్త్రవేత్త డి.సి. సర్కారుపండితుడు ఇలా అంటున్నారు:

“According to Buddhist tradition, the canon was written on palmyra leaves immediately after the Buddha's death.”<sup>1</sup>

ఇది నిజమైనప్పటికీ బౌద్ధం పెరిగి పెద్దదైంది ఉత్తరభారతదేశంలో కాబట్టి అక్కడ తాళపత్రాలు లభించేవా అన్న విషయం పరిశీలించవలసి ఉంది. ఉత్తరభారతదేశంలో భూర్జపత్రాల మీద, దక్షిణభారతదేశంలో తాళపత్రాల మీద క్రీత. రెండు మూడు శతాబ్దాల నుండి రాసే అలవాటు ఉండినట్లు పండితులందరూ అంగీకరించినమాట. అయినా అక్కడ తాళపత్రాలు దొరకవని చెప్పడానికి కూడా ఆధారాలంతగా కనిపించవు.

ఉత్తరభారతదేశంలో భూర్జపత్రాలపై రచింపబడిన గ్రంథాలు క్రీ.శ. రెండు మూడు శతాబ్దాలకు చెందినవి. అక్కడి బౌద్ధస్థూపాలలో భద్రపరచబడి ఉండేవి. వీటిలో ఇప్పటివరకు

లభించినవి ప్రాకృతభాషలో ఖర్షిలిపిలో రచింపబడిన “ధమ్మపదం”, క్రీ.శ. నాల్గవ శతాబ్దంలో సంస్కృతంలో రచింపబడిన బౌద్ధగ్రంథం ‘సంయుక్తాగమసూత్రాలు’ మొదలైనవి.<sup>2</sup> బౌద్ధసూత్రాలు బౌద్ధదేవాలయాలే. బౌద్ధమతానికి చెందిన ప్రాకృత సాహిత్యం ఈ స్థూపాలలో భద్రపరచబడింది. దీనిని బట్టి దేవాలయాలలో మతపరమైన సాహిత్యాన్ని భద్రపరచడం భారతదేశంలో చాల ప్రాచీనకాలం నుండి వస్తున్న ఆచారంగా కనిపిస్తుంది.

వైదికదేవతలకు చెందిన దేవాలయాలు దక్షిణభారతదేశంలో సుమారు క్రీ.శ. ఒకటవ శతాబ్దం నుండి, ఉత్తరభారతదేశంలో ఇంకొంచెం తరువాత నిర్మింప బడడం ప్రారంభమైంది. గుడిమల్లం (చిత్తూరు జిల్లా, ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్) లోని పరశురామేశ్వరాలయం దక్షిణభారతదేశంలోని తొలి శివాలయమని, శాతవాహనరాజుల కాలానికి చెందిందని (క్రీ.శ. 2వ శతాబ్దం) చారిత్రకుల అంచనా. అప్పటి నుండి గుహాలయాలు, తరువాత తరువాత ఇటుకలతో నిర్మింపబడిన దేవాలయాలు కనిపించాయి. ఈ దేవాలయాలలో శిల్పులు స్తంభాలమీద గోడలమీద సజీవములని భ్రమింపజేసే అద్భుతశిల్పాలను మలిచారు. ఈ శిల్పాలు కవులను, కళాకారులను స్పందింప జేశాయి. నాట్యకత్తెల పాదమండీరాల నుండి సరిగమలను పలికించాయి. దేవతల అంగరంగభోగాలకు కావలసిన గాయకులు, వాద్యగాంధ్రు, నట్టుపలు, నాట్యకత్తెలు ఆలయపరివారంలో చేరారు. దేవాలయాలలో రంగమంటపాలు, నాట్యమంటపాలు వెలిశాయి. రాజులే గాక సామాన్యులు సైతం దేవాలయాలను పోషించారు. పూజలతో, సంగీత నాట్యాలతో ఆలయప్రాంగణాలు మారుమోగిపోయాయి. ఈ ఉత్సవసంరంభంతో పులికించిన భక్తులే కొందరు కవులైనారు భక్తికావ్యాలు వెలిశాయి. సంగీత నాట్యశాస్త్ర గ్రంథాలు కూడా దేవాలయ ప్రాంగణాలలో పురుడుపోసుకున్నాయి. కాకతీయుల కాలంలో నిర్మింపబడిన రామప్పదేవాలయంలోని నృత్య భంగిమలను వెలార్చే శిల్పాలకు జాయపసేనాని విరచిత నృత్యరత్నావళికి గల సంబంధం తెలిసినదే. సంగీతనృత్యాది లలితకళలకు దేవాలయాలకు సంబంధముండినట్లు మధ్యయుగంనాటి శాసనాల ద్వారా సాహిత్యం ద్వారా వెల్లడవుతుంది.

ప్రాపంచిక వాసనలకు దూరంగా దేవాలయాలలోనే ఉంటూ దేవుని గుణ రూపాలను స్తుతిస్తూ జీవించినవారు చరిత్రలో ఎందరో ఉన్నారు. పేర్లు రచించిన స్తోత్రసాహిత్యమంతా వారి ఉపాస్యదైవానికి అంకిత మయ్యేది. ఇలాంటి సాహిత్యగ్రంథాలు ఆయా దేవాలయాలలోనే భద్రపరచ బడేవి. ఈ నాటికీ కొందరు భక్తులు ‘రామకోటి’ రాసిన కాగితపు ప్రతులను వైష్ణవ దేవాలయాలలో భద్రపరచడం కనిపిస్తుంది. ఒంటిమిట్ట (సిద్ధవటం తాలూకా, కడప జిల్లా) లోని కోదండరామస్వామి ఆలయంలో వాచిలికొలను సుబ్బారావు (ఆంధ్రవాల్మీకి) రచించిన ‘రామకోటి’ కాగితపు ప్రతులు మొన్నమొన్నటి వరకు ఉండేవి. ఇది ఈ వ్యాసకర్త ప్రత్యక్షంగా చూచిన విషయం.

దేవాలయాలలో భద్రపరచబడిన స్తుతిసాహిత్యంలో ఇప్పటివరకు దొరికిననాటిలో ‘సింహగిరి నరహరివచనములు’ మొదటి గ్రంథంగా భావించవచ్చు. తాళపత్రాలపై రాయబడిన ఈ స్తుతిసాహిత్యం చాలాకాలం నిలవదని ఆ భక్తకవులకు తెలుసు. అయినా మరొక రచనామాధ్యమం వారికి తోచలేదు. అద్భుతంకొద్దీ అలాంటి తాళపత్రగ్రంథాలను అనేకులు ఎత్తిరాసి ఉండడంచేత కొన్నేనా దొరికాయి. తాళపత్రం ముందే పెళుసు. దానికి తోడు దక్షిణభారతదేశంలో ఎందరు ఎక్కువ వేడికి తాళపత్రం తొందరగా శిథిలమవుతుంది. ఈ విషయం గమనించి తాళపాకకవులు మాత్రం తమ

సంకీర్తనవాఙ్మయాన్ని రాగిరేకులపై చెక్కించి అజరామరం చేశారు. భారతదేశంలో సాహిత్యాన్ని రాగిరేకులపై చెక్కించి భద్రపరచడం మరెక్కడా కనబడదు.

**రాగిరేకులపై సాహిత్యం:**

రాగిరేకులపై శాసనాలను చెక్కడం క్రీ.శ. నాల్గవ శతాబ్దం నుండి కనిపిస్తున్నది. ఇప్పటి వరకు దొరికిన తామ్రశాసనాలలో పల్లవరాజైన శివస్కందవర్మ వేయించిన మైదవోలు (గుంటూరు జిల్లా), హిరహడగల్లి (బళ్లారి జిల్లా) తామ్రశాసనాలు ప్రాచీనాలుగా కనిపిస్తాయి. ఇవి క్రీ.శ. 4వ శతాబ్ది మధ్యప్రాంతానికి చెందినవి. ఉత్తరభారతదేశంలో గుప్తుల రాజైన కుమారగుప్తుని కాలంలో చేయబడిన 'ధనాయ్దహ' (రాజషాహి జిల్లా, ఉత్తరబెంగాల్) తామ్రశాసనం (క్రీ.శ. 433) మొదటిది.<sup>3</sup> తరువాతికాలంలో ఎన్నో తామ్రశాసనాలు వెలువడినాయి. అయితే సాహిత్యం రాగిరేకుల చెక్కడం ఆశ్చర్యం కలిగించే విషయం. మన దేశంలో రాగిరేకుల మీద సాహిత్యాన్ని చెక్కించే అలవాటు కూడా ప్రాచీనకాలం నుండి ఉన్నట్లు తెలుస్తుంది. కనిష్కపుడు కొన్ని బౌద్ధమత గ్రంథాలను రాగిరేకులమీద రాయించినట్లు హూయన్ త్సాంగ్ రాశాడని డి.సి. సర్కారు పేర్కొన్నాడు.<sup>4</sup> ఇలాగే కావ్యాలను శిలలపై చెక్కించే సంప్రదాయం కూడా ఉండేది. కాంచీపురంలోని కన్యశేఖరాలయంలో ఒక శిలాస్తంభం మీద మయూరుని సూర్యశతకం అక్షరత్వాన్ని పొంది ఉండడం సాహిత్యకులకు తెలుసు. కాకతీయులకాలంలో నృసింహవిరచిత సిద్ధోద్వాహకావ్యం శిలపై చెక్కిబడింది.

తాళపాకకవులు రచించిన సంకీర్తనవాఙ్మయం రాగిరేకుల మీద చెక్కిబడి తిరుమల శ్రీనివాసుని ఆలయంలో భద్రపరచబడింది. ఇలా తామ్రఫలకాలపై సాహిత్యాన్ని చెక్కించడం ఆంధ్రదేశంలో ఇదే మొదలు. తరువాతి కాలంలో కూడా ఎవరూ తమ సాహిత్యాన్ని రాగిరేకుల మీద చెక్కించినట్లు కనబడదు. తాళపాక కవులు తమ సంకీర్తనవాఙ్మయాన్ని రాగిరేకుల మీద క్రీ.శ 1525 - 30 సంవత్సరాల మధ్యకాలంలో చెక్కించి శ్రీవారి ఆలయంలోని బంగారువాకిలికి సమీపంలో నిర్మించిన 'సంకీర్తనభండారం' లో భద్రపరచినట్లు వేటూరి ఆనందమూర్తిగారు అభిప్రాయ పడుతున్నారు.<sup>5</sup>

ఇలా భక్తిసాహిత్యాన్ని దేవాలయాలలోని ప్రత్యేకస్థలాలలో భద్రపరచి భావితరాల భక్తులకు, భక్తకవులకు అందించడం ప్రాచీనసంప్రదాయంగా తోస్తుంది. ఇప్పటికీ కొన్ని గృహాలలోని పూజ గదులలో దేవుళ్ల పటాలముందు, విగ్రహాలముందు పసుపుకుంకుమలతో అలంకరించిన భగవద్గీతాది మతగ్రంథాలు ఉంచి పూజించడం ఉంది. దీనికి సంబంధించిన మరొక విషయాన్ని ఇక్కడ ప్రస్తావించడం అవసరం. ఇలాంటి భక్తిసాహిత్యాన్ని దేవునికింకీతంగా రచించినవపుల రాతి ప్రతిమలను కూడా దేవాలయాలలో ప్రతిష్ఠించడం కనిపిస్తుంది. భగవద్రామానుజాల కాలం నుండి ఈ అలవాటు ఏర్పడింది. ఆయన రచించిన శ్రీభాష్యం ప్రతులను ఆయన కాలంలోను, తరువాతి కాలాలలోను ప్రఖ్యాతవైష్ణవక్షేత్రాలలో భద్రపరచబడి ఉంటాయి. ఆయా దేవాలయాలలో ప్రధాన దైవతములకు అభిముఖంగా ముకుళితపాస్తాలతో ఉన్న శ్రీభాష్యకారుని విగ్రహాలు ప్రతిష్ఠింపబడి ఉండడం ఇప్పటికీ కనిపించే సత్యం. ఈ విషయంగా కొంత ప్రాచీనదశకు వెళ్లి పరిశీలిస్తే, ఆసక్తికరమైన విషయాలు తెలుస్తాయి. పరమపదించిన వ్యక్తి బొమ్మను ఒక శిలపై చెక్కించి బొమ్మ క్రింద శాసనం చెక్కించి మతప్రాధాన్యత గల స్థలాలలో ప్రతిష్ఠించడం క్రీ.శ. 3వ శతాబ్దం నుండి కనిపిస్తున్నది. క్రీ.శ. 3వ శతాబ్దంలో నాగార్జునకొండ (ప్రాంతాన్ని) పరిపాలించిన వీరపురుషదత్తుడు తన సవతిశిల్లి 'వమ్మభట్టారిక' జ్ఞాపకార్థం ఒక శాసనకంఠం నాటించాడు.<sup>6</sup> ఈ కంఠం మీద ఆమె బొమ్మ

చెక్కబడింది. బొమ్మ కింద వివరాలను తెలిపే శాసనం బ్రాహ్మీలిపిలో ఉంది. ఈ శాసన కంభాన్ని 'ఛాయాకంభ' మని ఆ శాసనం పేర్కొన్నది. మధ్యయుగంలో దేవాలయాలలో దేవుని కెదురుగా నిలబడి చేతులతో తెలుగుతున్న దీపాలను పెట్టుకొని ఆరాధిస్తున్నవిధంగా ఉన్న శిల్పాలు కనిపిస్తాయి. ఇవి 'ఛాయాదీపాల'ని పిలవబడినాయి. తిరుమల ఆలయంలో గల ఇరువైపుల దేవేరులతో పుష్ప కృష్ణ రాయల రాగివిగ్రహం, అచ్యుతరాయల శిలావిగ్రహం ఈ కోవకు చెందినవి. అయితే ఈ విగ్రహాలు ముసుగుత పూస్తూలే స్వామి కభిముఖంగా ఉన్నాయే గాని చేతులలో దీపాలు లేవు. ఇలాగే తాము రచించిన స్త్రోతసాహిత్యగ్రంథాలను దేవాలయాలలో భద్రపరచిన భక్తకవుల విగ్రహాలు కూడా చెక్కబడి కనిపించడం ఒక ఆరాధన విశేషం. శ్రీవారి ఆలయంలో గల సంకీర్తనభండారానికి ఇరువైపుల అన్నమయ్య పెదతిరుమలయ్యల శిల్పాలు కనిపిస్తున్నాయి.

### తాళ్లపాకకవుల సంకీర్తనలు రాగిరేకుల కెక్కడం:

తాళ్లపాకకవులు ఆంధ్రదేశంలో సంకీర్తనసంప్రదాయానికి మూలపురుషులు. సంకీర్తనసుమాలతో తిరుమల వేంకటేశ్వరుని పూజించిన ఆచార్యులు. అన్నమాచార్యులు (1424-1503 A.D.), పెద-తిరుమలాచార్యులు (1458-1554), చినతిరుమలాచార్యులు (1488-1562) శృంగార ఆధ్యాత్మికములను పేర రచించిన కొన్ని వేల సంకీర్తనలు రాగిరేకుల మీద రచింపబడినాయి. ఈ రాగిరేకులను వీరు శ్రీవారి ఆలయంలో ప్రత్యేకంగా వీటిని భద్రపరచడానికి నిర్మించిన అరలో ఉంచారు. ఈ అరకు గల ద్వారానికి ఇరువైపుల తాళ్లపాక అన్నమాచార్యులు, అతని కుమారుడైన పెదతిరుమలాచార్యుల బొమ్మలు గోడలమీద చెక్కబడినాయి. ఈ అరకు అన్నమయ్య 'భండార' మని పేర్కొనినాడు. ఇదే సంకీర్తనభండారము. ఈ రేకులపై తాళ్లపాక కవుల ఇతర కృతులు కూడా రచింపబడినాయి. చిన్నన్న ద్విపదకావ్యాలు మాత్రం రాగిరేకుల కెక్కలేదు.

ఈ రాగిరేకులు నిదురేకులు, సాధారణరేకులు, పెద్దరేకులని మూడు రకాల సరిమాణాలలో కనిపిస్తున్నాయి. నిదురేకులు  $33 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$  అంగుళాల కొలత గలవి. సాధారణరేకులు సుమారు  $15 \times 7$  అంగుళాల కొలతలు గలవి. పెద్దరేకుల కొలతలు  $27 \times 16$  అంగుళాలు. వీటిలో తిరుమల ఆలయంలోని తాళ్లపాక అరలో ఉన్నవన్నీ సాధారణరేకులే. మిగిలిన రేకులు అహోబిలము, శ్రీరంగములలో దొరికినవి. వైష్ణవ వాఙ్మయ ప్రచారార్థం వీటిని తాళ్లపాకకవులే ఆయాక్షేత్రాలకు పంపి ఉంటారని తాళ్లపాకవాఙ్మయ పరిశోధకుల అభిప్రాయం.<sup>7</sup>

సంకీర్తన రచనకు ఆద్యుడైన అన్నమయ్య సంకీర్తనభండార వ్యవస్థకు కూడా ఆద్యుడై ఉంటాడు. తాళ్లపాకవారు రచించిన వాఙ్మయంలో ఒకే ఒకచోట భండారానికి సంబంధించిన అంశం కనిపిస్తుంది. అన్నమయ్య రచించిన

దాచుకో వీపాలకుఁ దగనేఁ జేసిన పూజలివి  
పూఁచి నీకీరితి రూప పుష్పము లివియయ్య  
ఒక్క సంకీర్తనే చాలు నొద్దికై మము రక్షించగ  
తక్కునవి భండారాన దాచి పుండవీ

అనే ఆధ్యాత్మికసంకీర్తనను బట్టి అన్నమయ్య కాలంనాటికే సంకీర్తనభండారం ఏర్పాటు జేయబడినట్లు తెలుస్తున్నది. భండారంలో సంకీర్తనలను శాశ్వతంగా దాచి యుంచడం అన్నమయ్య ఉద్దేశం కాదు. ఆ సంకీర్తనలు ప్రతిరోజు దేవుని సన్నిధిలో పాడబడాలని, భక్తులు వినాలని, ఇతర వైష్ణవ దేవాలయాలలో కూడా వీటికి ప్రచారం జరగాలని ఆశించాడు. ఈ యాశయాలను తరువాత పెదతిరుమలాచార్యులు నెరవేర్చాడు. ఒక్కొక్క సంకీర్తన ఒక్కొక్క పూజాకుసుమ మని అన్నమయ్య భావించాడు. కొందరు పండితులు అన్నమయ్యనాటికి సంకీర్తనలు రాగిరేకుల కెక్కలేదని పెద-తిరుమలాచార్యుని కాలంలో ఈ పని జరిగి యుంటుందని అభిప్రాయపడుతున్నారు. ప్రభాకరశాస్త్రిగారి ఈహా ఇలా ఉంది: “అన్నమూచార్యుని నాటి సంకీర్తనలు తాటియాకుల మీద వ్రాసియుండఁ బడెనేమో! అతని తరువాత పెదతిరుమలాచార్యులు వానిని రాగిరేకుల మీద జెక్కించెను.”<sup>8</sup> ఈ ఈహా నిజమైతే అన్నమయ్య రచించిన తాళపత్రప్రతులను భండారంలో భద్రపరచి ఉంచాలి. కొన్నాళ్ళకీ వైదిల్సస్థితిని పొందగా ఆనేదనపడి తండ్రిగారి సంకీర్తనలు భండారంలో శాశ్వతంగా ఉంచాలనే తలంపుతో పెదతిరుమలాచార్యులు వాటిని రాగిరేకులపై చెక్కించడం ప్రారంభించినట్లు భావపవలసి యుంది. ఏమైనా సంకీర్తన ప్రతులను భద్రపరచడానికి భండారాన్ని ఏర్పాటుచేయాలన్న తలంపు అన్నమయ్యదే ననిపిస్తుంది.

## భండారం - అర్థవివరణ:

భాండాగారానికి ప్రాస్వరూపం భండారం. కోశాగారమని ఈ మాట కర్తం. భాండాగారానికి అధికారి భాండాగారాధ్యక్షుడు. ఇప్పటి భాషలో కోశాధికారి (Treasury Officer). పన్నురూపంలో ప్రజలనుండి వసూలు చేసిన ధనధాన్యాదులను కోశాగారంలో రాజు భద్రపరుస్తాడు. కోశాగారం రాజ్యానికి గుండెకాయ లాంటిది. అందుకని రాజు సమర్థుడైన వానినే కోశాధ్యక్షునిగా నియమిస్తాడు. తాళ్లపాకవారి సంకీర్తన భండారం కూడా ఒక రకంగా కోశాగారమే. అయితే ఇందులో ధనధాన్యాలకు మారు సంకీర్తనల తాళపత్రప్రతులు, రాగిరేకులు భద్రపరచబడినాయి. దీనిని ‘treasure house of knowledge’ గా చెప్పవచ్చు. సాహిత్యగంభాంసు భద్రపరచుకొనే గదిని అన్నమయ్య ‘భండార’ మని ఎందుకు పేర్కొన్నాడన్నది విచారణీయం. సాధారణార్థంలో దేనినైనా భద్రపరిచే గదిని భండారమని, కోశాగారమని పిలవడం ఉంది. అన్నమయ్య గూడా భండారమనే మాటను ఈ సామాన్యార్థంలోనే వాడి ఉంటాడు.

భాండాగారం అనే మాట నుండి ‘భండారం’ అనే మాట ఏర్పడినట్లు ‘బందారు’ అనే మాటనుండి కూడా ‘భండారం’ అన్నమాట ఏర్పడి ఉండవచ్చు. మనిపిస్తుంది. తెలుగులో బందారు (బండ+ఆరు) అంటే రాతిపైన మారి ఆరిపోకముందే పూసుకొనే పసుపు అని అర్థం. ‘చేబబందారు’ అనే మాట కూడా రాయలసీమ ప్రాంతంలో వాడుకలో ఉంది. లేతపేపాకుమ బండపై మారి మళుచీకం వల్ల శరీరంపై ఏర్పడిన పుండ్లపై పూస్తారు. పసుపు, చేప ఈ రెండు క్రిమిసంహారక ద్రవ్యాలు. క్రిమినష్టం కాకుండా ఉండడానికి తాళపత్రాలపై పసుపు చల్లి కొంత ఆరిన తరువాత నిర్ణీత గదిలో భద్రపరచడంవల్ల ఈ గదికి భండారమని పేరేర్పడిందేమో! పెదతిరుమలాచార్యుల కాలంలో వాబ్బయం రాగిరేకుల కెక్కింది, కాబట్టి అప్పుడు కూడా రాగిరేకులు త్రుప్పుపట్టకుండా ఉండడానికి పసుపునీళ్లు చల్లి కొంత ఆరిన తరువాత గదిలో నిక్షిప్తంచేసి ఉంచురేమో! ఈ ఆలోచనలు కేవలం ఈహాలైనప్పటికీ తెలుగుదేశంలో ముఖ్యంగా రాయలసీమలో ఇలాంటి అలవాట్లు

ఉండడంవల్ల, తాళ్లపాకకవులు రాయలసీమవాళ్లు కావడంవల్ల 'బండారు' అనేమాట నుండి 'భండారం' అనేమాట ఏర్పడి ఉండవచ్చునని ఊహించవచ్చు. 'సంధ' అంటే పొండిత్యం, జ్ఞానం (knowledge). పండారం అంటే పొండిత్యానికి, జ్ఞానానికి సంబంధించినది అని అర్థం. ఈ 'పండారం' అనే మాటనుండి కూడా 'భండారం' ఏర్పడి ఉండవచ్చు. జ్ఞానానికి నెలపు ఈ భండారం. అన్నమయ్య మాటల కొత్తకూర్పులు శ్రుతులు, శాస్త్రాలు, పురాణకథలు, సుజ్ఞానసారాలు అయినట్లు చెప్పబడింది.<sup>10</sup> సుజ్ఞానసారం సంకీర్తనవాఙ్మయమంతటా విస్తరించింది. ఈ జ్ఞానం జీవి ప్రాపంచికవాసనలను, బంధాలను భేదిస్తుంది. అందుకే ఈ జ్ఞానవిధానాలైన సంకీర్తనలను భావితరం భక్తులకోసం భద్రం చేయాలనుకున్నారు తాళ్లపాక కవులు. ఈ రకంగా చూచినప్పుడు ధనధాన్యదులతో నిండిన ప్రాచీన ప్రభుత్వాల భాండారాలకంటే తాళ్లపాక వారి సంకీర్తనభండారం ఎంతో విలువైనదనిపిస్తుంది. సంకీర్తనలభద్రతకోసం ఒక భాండారాన్ని నిర్మించాలన్న ఆలోచన తాళ్లపాకకవులకు రావడం ఎంతో గొప్ప విషయం.

సంకీర్తనలు రాగిరేకుల కెక్కింది పెదతిరుమలాచార్యుల కాలంలో :

పెదతిరుమలాచార్యులు చేసిన పనుల్లో ముఖ్యమైంది వేరెవరూ చేయలేనిది తన ఆంధ్రీవి తనని అనేక వేల సంకీర్తనలను, తన లఘుకృతులను పెద్ద పెద్ద రాగిరేకులపై చెక్కించి సంకీర్తనభండారంలో భద్రపరచడం. అన్నమరాజు తిమ్మయ వ్రాయునకాదు. ఎంతో మంది ఎన్నో సంతత్యరాలు శ్రమపడి ఈ కార్యక్రమం పూర్తిచేసి ఉండాలి. ఎంతో ద్రవ్యం దీనికి ఖర్చయి ఉంటుంది. ఈ ధనం తాళ్లపాకకవులకు అనాటి రాజులు చేసిన దానాల, నుండి సంగ్రహించబడి ఉంటుంది. శ్రీకృష్ణదేవరాయల కాలానికి (క్రీ.శ.1509 - 1530) అన్నమయ్య పరమవృద్ధుడు. పెదతిరుమలాచార్యులు తిరుమలలో నివసిస్తూ వుండినా ఆయన మీద రాయలవారి దృష్టి పడినట్లు లేదు. పెదతిరుమలాచార్యులు రాయల ఆప్తానానికి వెళ్లినట్లు, సత్కారం పొందడానికి ప్రయత్నించినట్లు, ఈయన పత్నితాతాధర్మాన్ని గురించి చెప్పిన పద్యాన్ని తెనాలి రామలింగకవి అవహేళన చేసినట్లు, అయినా రాయలు ఈయనకు యథోచితసత్కారం చేసి పంపినట్లు ఊహించడానికి కొంత ఆధారముందని వేటూరి ఆనందమూర్తి రాశారు.<sup>10</sup> వీరి విషయం చెప్పడానికి ఆధారం గురజాడ శ్రీరామమూర్తి రచించిన 'కవి జీవితములు' అనే గ్రంథం.<sup>11</sup> ఇది ఇంకా పరిశీలించవలసి ఉంది. ఒకవేళ పెదతిరుమలాచార్యులు రాధులవారిని దర్శించడానికి వెళ్ళివుండడం నిజమైతే అది రాగిరేకుల రాతకు కావలసిన సహాయాన్ని అర్జించడానికే అయి ఉంటుంది. రాయలవారు ఈయనకు చేసిన దానాలను గురించి ఏ శాసనమూ 'పేర్కొనకపోవడం వల్ల పెదతిరుమలాచార్యులకు రాజసహాయం లభించలేదని భావించాలి.

రాయల తరువాత విజయనగర చక్రవర్తియైన అచ్యుతరాయలు (క్రీ.శ. 1530-42) పెద తిరుమలాచార్యులకు స్నేహితుడు, శిష్యప్రాయుడు. అచ్యుతరాయలు చంద్రగిరిలోను, పెదతిరుమలాచార్యులు తిరుమలలోను ఉంటూ వుండినప్పుడు వారిద్దరు కలుసుకోవడం, స్నేహం ఏర్పడడం జరిగి ఉంటుంది. పెదతిరుమలాచార్యులు అచ్యుతరాయల మనస్సుకు హత్తుకొనే కొన్ని శృంగార సంకీర్తనలను తిరువేంగళనాథునిమీద చెప్పడం, అచ్యుతునికి అంతకు ముందే శ్రీనివాసుని మీద వుండిన భక్తి ఈ ప్రేరణతో మరింత గాఢమై సంకీర్తనలను రాగిరేకులమీద రాయించే పనిలో సహాయ-వడానుకోవడం వస్తూదగిన విషయం. తిరుమల ఫణికావలి గోపురం ముందుభాగంలో ఎడమవైపు కింద నేయబడిన తెలుగుశాసనంలోని "అచ్యుతరాయ సుసోరాయ ... స్తం గాను తిరువేంగళనాథునికి శృంగార సంకీర్తనలు చెప్పిన తాళ్లపాక అన్నమయ్యకు....." అన్న విషయం దీనిని నిరూపిస్తుంది.<sup>12</sup>

అమృతరాయలు క్రీ.శ. 1530లో విజయనగర ప్రభువైనాడు. అప్పటినుండి పెదతిరుమలార్యులకు రాజాదరణ మరింత దొరికింది. ఇన్నివేల సంకీర్తనలను రాగిరేకుల మీద చెక్కించడానికి ఎన్నో సంవత్సరాలు పట్టివుంటుంది. వేటూరి ఆనందమూర్తి క్రీ.శ. 1525 నుండి ఈ కార్యక్రమం కొనసాగి 1545 వరకు అంటే 20 సంవత్సరాలలో పూర్తి అయివుంటుందని ఊహిస్తున్నారు. పెదతిరుమలార్యులు గ్రీష్మ ఋతువులో సంకీర్తనలను రాయడం ప్రారంభించినందువల్ల దీనిని సూచించడానికి శ్రీవారి ఆలయంలో గ్రీష్మోత్సవము నొక దానిని నెలకొల్పినట్లుంది. “క్రీ.శ. 1541లో సంకీర్తన భండారము కడ దీపము లుంచుటయు. శ్రీవైష్ణవులిరువురు పనిచేయుచుండుటయు పై కార్యమింకను ముగియమిని సూచించునేమో! ఇక క్రీ.శ. 1545లో సంకీర్తనభండారము వద్ద సంకీర్తనముల నారాధించుటకై 20 రోజుల పాటు గ్రీష్మోత్సవసందర్భమున నివేదనము జరుగుట గమనింప దగిన విషయం. అప్పటికా కార్యము ముగిసి యుండును. ఆరంభమై ఇర్వదేండ్లు పూర్తియగుటను సూచించుటకే కావచ్చును. 20 దినములపాటు జరుగు గ్రీష్మోత్సవముతో దానిని ముడిపెట్టినారు.”<sup>13</sup>

ఈ వివరాలను బట్టి చూస్తే అన్నమయ్య ప్రేరణతో సంకీర్తనభండారం నెలకొల్పబడి పెదతిరుమలార్యుల చేతిమీదుగా సంకీర్తనవాఙ్మయం 20 సంవత్సరాల కాలంలో రాగిరేకులకెక్కినట్లు అర్థమవుతుంది. అన్నమయ్య కాలంలో భండారంలో ఉంచిన తాళపత్రప్రతులలోని వాఙ్మయానికి పెదతిరుమలయ్య శాశ్వతత్వాన్ని చేకూర్చాడు. తన సంకీర్తనలను స్వామిసన్నిధిలో భద్రంచేయాలనుకొన్న అన్నమయ్యకు రాగిరేకులపై చెక్కించాలనే తలంపు కలిగి ఉండదు. ఈ తలంపు పెదతిరుమలయ్యకే కలిగినట్లు పండితుల అభిప్రాయం.<sup>14</sup> ఇలా భద్రపరచబడిన సంకీర్తనలను స్వామిసన్నిధిలో పెదతిరుమలయ్య ఆయన కుమారులు గానంచేయడమే గాక ఇతర గాయక పండితులను కొందరిని నియమించి నియమిత సమయాలలో వారిచేత సంకీర్తనలను గానం చేయించే ఏర్పాటు గూడా చేశారు. ఈ పండితులకు జీతభత్యాదులను సమకూర్చారు. తిరుమలదేవాలయంలోని మూడవ ప్రాకారకుడ్యంపై వేయబడిన తమిళశాసనంలో పెదతిరుమలయ్య స్వామివారి దేవాలయానికి 450 పణముల ధనం, కుప్ప, కీలం గుర్రమ్ అనే రెండు దేవాదాయాలను సమర్పించినట్లుంది.<sup>15</sup> ఈ ఆదాయంతో ఇతరసేవలతో పాటు సంకీర్తనభండారం ముందు ప్రతిరోజు నాలుగు తిరుప్పావకాలు నివేదించడానికి దీపాల నిమిత్తం రోజుకొక ఉళిక్కు మూసే సరఫరా చేయడానికి ఏర్పాటు చేయబడింది. అక్కడ పనిచేసే శ్రీవైష్ణవులిరువురికీ జీతం కింద ప్రసాదాల పంపకం కూడా ఏర్పాటైంది. సంకీర్తనలు వినేవారికి వన్నీరు బుడ్లు, చందన తాంబూలాలు ఇవ్వడం సమకూర్చబడింది. నిత్యం తిరుమంజన సమయంలోను, శుక్రవారం పునుగుకాపుసమయంలోను, బ్రహ్మోత్సవ రథోత్సవాలలోను సంకీర్తనలను ఆలపించే పద్ధతి నెలకొల్పబడింది. సంకీర్తనలను గానం చేసే భక్తుల పాటు వైష్ణవమతవిషయాలను కూడా ప్రచారం చేయడం ఆనాటి పద్ధతరల పద్ధతి. ఇదొక సంప్రదాయంగా మారింది. దీనికి ‘సంకీర్తన అరుళుప్పాడు’ అని పేరేర్పడింది. ‘అరుళుప్పాడు’ అంటే అనుగ్రహింపజేయడం. స్వామి దయ నర్తించి పాడే పాటలతో కూడిన ఉత్సవమిది. తిరుపతిలోని గోవిందరాజస్వామి ఆలయంలో కూడా ఈ సంకీర్తనల గానం ఏర్పాటు చేయబడింది. ఆ కాలంలో ప్రఖ్యాత వైష్ణవక్షేత్రాలకు ఈ సంప్రదాయం వ్యాపించింది. క్రీ.శ. 1563 నాటి ఒక శాసనంలో మంగళగిరి నృసింహాలయంలో కూడా సంకీర్తన అరుళుప్పాడు జరుగుతూ వుండినట్లు కనబడుతుంది.<sup>16</sup>

తాళ్లపాక అర :

తాళ్లపాకకవుల సాహిత్యాన్ని రాగిరేకుల మీద రాయించి తిరుమల ఆలయ ప్రాంగణంలో భద్రపరచిన గదికి 'తాళ్లపాక అర' అని పేరేర్పడింది. ఈ అరను సంరక్షించడంలో పెదతిరుమలయ్య తరువాత ఆయన సంతతివారు కూడా ఎంతో శ్రద్ధ తీసుకొన్నారు. తాళ్లపాక అర సంగీతసాహిత్యాలకు సంబంధించిన ఒక వ్యవస్థగా రూపుదిద్దుకొన్నది. దీని ప్రఖ్యాతి ఇతర వైష్ణవక్షేత్రాలకు పాకింది. ఇందులోని రాగిరేకులు కొన్ని శ్రీరంగాది క్షేత్రాలకు వెళ్లాయి. అక్కడ కూడా స్త్రోతసాహిత్యగ్రంథాలను భద్రపరిచే సంప్రదాయం ఏర్పడి ఉంటుంది. ఈ వ్యవస్థ కింత ప్రాధాన్యమేర్పడినా దీనికి సంబంధించిన వివరాలను ప్రాచీన తెలుగు కవుల లెవరూ ప్రస్తావించలేదు. కడకు పదకవులు కూడా వీటి ఉనికిని గుర్తించకపోవడం ఆశ్చర్యం. తిరుమల తిరుపతిదేవస్థానంవారు ఈ రాగిరేకులను బయటికి తీయించి అందరి సాహిత్యాన్ని కాగితాల మీద రాయించి పండితులచేత పరిష్కరింపించి ప్రకటించడానికి పూనుకొన్నారు. 1935 లో తాళ్లపాకవారి లఘుకృతులు - మొదటిసంపుటం విజయరాఘవాచార్యులు మరియు ఆదినారాయణనాయుడుగార్ల పరిష్కరణలో ముద్రింపబడింది. 1922 నుండి తిరుమలతిరుపతులలో గల శాసనాలను సేకరించి ప్రకటించే ప్రయత్నం జరిగింది.<sup>17</sup>

రాగిరేకులును గుర్తించినవారు :

మొట్టమొదట తాళ్లపాక అరలోని రాగిరేకులను గుర్తించి ప్రస్తావించినవాడు విదేశీయుడైన ఎ.డి. క్యాంబెల్. ఆయన 1816 లో రాసిన విషయం గమనింపదగినది:

"Having heard that a number of poems engraved on some thousand sheets of copper had been preserved by the pious care of a family of brahmins in the temple on the sacred hill at Tirupati, I deputed a native for the purpose of examining them. but with the exception of a treatise on grammar, of which a copy was taken, the whole collection was found to contain nothing but voluminous hymns in praise of the Diety."<sup>18</sup>

రాబర్ట్ సి.వెల్ మద్రాసు ప్రెసిడెన్సీలోని ప్రాచీన అవశేషాలను సేకరించి ఒక పట్టిక తయారు చేసి 1882 లో ఒక గ్రంథంగా ప్రకటించాడు.<sup>19</sup> ఈ గ్రంథంలో సి.వెల్ శ్రీవారి ఆలయంలోని తాళ్లపాకవారి అరలో రెండు బండ్ల రాగిరేకులున్నట్లు రాశాడు. వీటిని ఇతడు శాసనాలని భ్రమించాడు. 1888 లో ప్రభుత్వ ఎఫిగాఫిస్టుగా వుండిన డబ్ల్యు. హార్ట్ తన సహాయకుడైన వి. వెంకయ్యను తమవతిలోని శాసనాలను సంపాదించే పనికి పురమొయిచాడు. వెంకయ్య తిరుపతిలో గల చాల శాసనాల ప్రతినిధులను తీశాడు. తిరుమలగుడిలో గల శాసనాల ప్రతినిధులను తీయడానికి ప్రయత్నించగా ఎప్పటి మహంత్ర ఆయనను గుడిలోపలి భాగాలను తనిఖీచేయడానికి అనుమతించలేదు. ఉత్తర లక్కాను దిద్దెట్లు కోళ్ళు చేసుకున్నా మోలనా లేకపోయింది. ఈ విషయాలను హార్ట్



ప్రభుత్వ దృష్టికి తెచ్చాడు.<sup>20</sup> అప్పటి మద్రాసు ప్రెసిడెన్సీ ప్రభుత్వ ప్రధానకార్యదర్శి ప్రభుత్వ అభిప్రాయాన్ని హెల్త్ కు ఈ విధంగా తెలియజేశాడు:

“His excellency in council regrets that the Mahant refused to permit Dr. Hultzsche's brahmin assistant to enter the inner part of the Tirumala temple at upper Tirupati and trusts that on a future occasion permission to do this may be accorded.”

ప్రధానకార్యదర్శి హెల్త్ కు పంపిన ఈ ఉత్తరం ప్రతినొకదానిని మహాంతుకు కూడా పంపడం జరిగింది.

తరువాత 1903 లోనో 1904 లోనో వెంకయ్యకు ఆలయంలోపలికి వెళ్లి పరిశీలించే అనుమతి లభించింది. 1904లో జారీ అయిన ప్రభుత్వవార్షికశాసననివేదికలో వెంకయ్య ఇలా ఒక నోట్ రాశాడు:

“Through the kind offices of Mr. M.L. Vaughan, I.C.S., Collector of North-Arcot, I was permitted to examine the interior of the temple at Tirumala and the copper plates secured there. ... They are however no Sasanas or royal edicts, but contain songs composed by a member of Tallapakam family.”

ఈ ఆంగ్లవాక్యాలను బట్టి, సీవెల్ అప్పటి రాగిరేకులను శాసనాలుగా భావిస్తే వెంకయ్య నాటికని శాసనాలు కాదని సంకీర్తనలు గల రాగిరేకులని లోకానికి వెల్లడైంది. ఈ విషయం 1816 లోనే క్యాంబెల్ తెలుసుకొన్నా అతడు దానిని గురించి మరెక్కడా రాయక పోవడంవల్ల ఆ విషయం గోప్యంగానే ఉండిపోయింది.

ఆ కాలంలో ఆంగ్లేయులకు ఆలయప్రవేశం లేదు. హెల్త్ ఆలయంలోనికి వెళ్లడానికి ఎంతో ప్రయత్నించాడు. ఫలితం లేక పోయింది. ఆలయంలోపల శ్రీకృష్ణదేవరాయలు ఆయన దేవేరుల తామ్రశీలలున్నాయని విన్నాడు. చూచి ఫోటోలు తీయాలనుకున్నాడు. వీలు కాలేదు. ఈ విషయాలను 1903 జూలై 24వ తేదీన మద్రాసు ప్రభుత్వ దృష్టికి తెచ్చాడు.

“As no European is permitted to enter the temple, these three statues, which are of considerable historical interest deserve to be photographed by a caste Hindu”.<sup>22</sup>

అని ఆయన ప్రభుత్వానికి రాస్తే హెల్త్ దగ్గర పనిచేస్తూ వుండిన వారిలో ఒక హిందువును పంపి ఫోటోలు తీయించుకోమని అప్పటి ప్రధాన కార్యదర్శి సమాధాన మిచ్చాడు. హెల్త్ 1903 లో తన

పదవికి రాజనామా చేసి వెళ్లగా ఆ పదవిలో వెంకయ్యను నియమించారు. వెంకయ్య హయాంలో దేవాలయం లోపల వార్షికాంశాలు బయటకు వచ్చి అనేకులకు తెలిశాయి.

తిరుమందేవాలయాంతర్గత విశేషాలను వెలికి తీసినట్టి అప్పటి ప్రభుత్వం ఇతర ప్రసిద్ధ దేవాలయాలలోని విషయాలను కూడా వెలికి తీసే ప్రయత్నం చేసింది. ఈ ప్రయత్నంలో భాగంగా అహోబిలం దేవాలయాన్ని పరిశీలించినపుడు అక్కడ కూడా సంకీర్తనలున్న రాగిరేకులు కనిపించాయి. 1915 లో జారీ అయిన మద్రాసు శాసననివేదికలో ఆ విషయాలిలా ప్రకటించబడినాయి:

"Many huge inscribed copper plates are kept in the underground cellars in the temple on upper Ahobilam. These are of the same type as those found in the Tallapakam Vari Kottu on the Tirupati Hill and also actually, belong to that temple and not to Ahobilam."<sup>23</sup>

ఇవి పెదతిరుమలవార్షిక కాలంలో అక్కడికి వెళ్లినవి కావచ్చు.

ఉపసంహారం :

క్రీ.శ. 16వ శతాబ్దంలో సాహిత్యాన్ని రాగిరేకుల మీద చెక్కించడం ఆశ్చర్యకరమైన విషయం. అంతకు ముందు కూడా ఇలాంటి పని జరిగిందని పరిశోధకులు చెబుతున్నా అనేవి లభ్యం కావడం లేదు. తాళ్లపాక కవుల తరువాత కూడా ఇలాంటి పని చేసిన వారు లేరు. ఇదొక బృహత్కార్యం. తాళ్లపాక ఆచార్యుల ఆధ్యాత్మికానురక్తికి అనాటి రాజకీయశక్తి కొంత తోడు కావడం వల్ల ఈ పవిత్రకార్యం కొనసాగింది. పూర్వకాలంలో బౌద్ధవిశ్వవిద్యాలయాలు బుండేపని చారిత్రకులు చెబుతారు. బౌద్ధమతాపాల విస్తరణ కార్యక్రమమే విశ్వవిద్యాలయాలగా రూపు దిద్దుకొని ఉంటుంది. ఇక్కడ ప్రాకృతభాషలో బౌద్ధగ్రంథాలు భద్రం చేయబడినాయి. అలాగే క్రీ.శ. 4వ శతాబ్దం నుండి సుమారు 13వ శతాబ్దం వరకు దక్షిణభారతదేశంలో విద్యాస్థానాలుగా గుర్తింపబడిన ఘటికాస్థానాలు పనిచేసినట్లు శాసనాధారాలున్నాయి. ఈ ఘటికలలో ఆచార్యులు బుండేవారు. పుస్తకభాండాగారా బుండేవి. ఘటికలు దేవాలయాలకు అనుబంధంగా ఉండడం వల్ల దైవకార్యాలకు సాహిత్యకర్తల భక్తితత్పరతకు సంబంధం ఏర్పడింది. ఈ సంబంధం భక్తకవుల స్త్రోత్రసాహిత్యాన్ని దేవాలయాలలోనే భద్రపరచడానికి దోహదం చేసింది. ఇదే తాళ్లపాక కవులకు కూడా ప్రేరణ. ఈ ప్రేరణ 'తాళ్లపాక ఆర' నిర్మాణానికి, సంకీర్తనను రాగిరేకుల మీద చెక్కించడానికి కారణమైంది. తాళ్లపాక కవులు ధన్యులు. శ్రీవారి ఆలయంలో వారు ఆలపించిన సంకీర్తనల పవ్యధులు వివరణింపబడిన విశ్వనాథులనంగా వివిషిమైనవి ఉంటాయి.

సూచికలు:

1. Indian Epigraphy, 1965, p. 62.
2. ibid. p. 64.
3. Sircar, D.C., Select Inscriptions p. 280.

4. *Indian Epigraphy*, op.cit. p. 377.
5. తాళ్లపాకకవుల కృతులు - వివిధ సాహితీప్రక్రియలు, 1974, పుటలు 83-85.
6. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XX.
7. శ్రీనివాసాచార్యుల సంకీర్తనలను పరిష్కరించి ప్రకటించిన సంపుటాలలో గల పీఠికలలో వేటూరి ప్రభాకరశాస్త్రి, పి.వి. శ్రీనివాసాచార్యులు; 'తాళ్లపాక కవుల కృతులు - వివిధ సాహితీ ప్రక్రియలు' అన్న గ్రంథంలో వేటూరి ఆనందమూర్తి మొదలైనవారు ఈ ఆధిపత్యం వహించారు.
8. అన్నమాచార్యచరిత్ర, తి.లి.దే. ప్రచురణ, 1978, పీఠిక - పేజీ 90
9. సంకీర్తనంక్షణిలో 12వ పేజీ.
10. తాళ్లపాకకవుల కృతులు - వివిధ సాహితీప్రక్రియలు, op.cit. పుట 351 అధోజ్ఞాపిక.
11. కవిజీవితములు, 1955, పుట 236.
12. *T.T.D. Inscriptions*, vol. IV. No. 20
13. ఆనందమూర్తి, వేటూరి, తాళ్లపాక కవుల పదకవితలు - భాషాసంస్కార విశేషాలు, 1976, పుట. 57.
14. తాళ్లపాక పెదతిరుమలాచార్యుల 'శ్రీభగవద్గీత - తొలి తెలుగు భావానువాదం' గ్రంథానికి ప్రాఫెసరు కొత్త సచ్చిదానందమూర్తి రాసిన పీఠికలో ఈ విషయాలను చర్చించారు. శ్రీవేంకటేశ్వర విశ్వవిద్యాలయ ప్రాచ్యపరిశోధనాసంస్థ ప్రచురణ, 1978.
15. *T.T.D. Inscriptions*, vol. IV. No. 155.
16. దక్షిణ హిందూదేశ శాసనములు. నాల్గవ సంపుటం. శాసన సంఖ్య - 710.
17. See the preface to the *T.T.D. Epigraphical Report*, 1930, p. 1.
18. Vide: *Grammar of Telooogoo* by A.D. Campbell, Introduction, First Edition, 1816, Madras.
19. ఈ గ్రంథం *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras* అనే పేరుతో మద్రాసులో అప్పటి పురావస్తు శాఖ వారి చేత మద్రాసులో ప్రచురించబడింది.
20. *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1889, p. 1.
21. ibid. 1904, p. 3.
22. ibid. 1903, p. 6.
23. ibid. 1915, p. 96.



## REVIEWS

SOME ASPECTS OF VEDIC STUDIES. Ed. Samiran Chandra Chakrabarti. School of Vedic Studies, Rabindra Bharati University, 56A B.T. Road, Calcutta 700 050. Pp. 12+97. Price: Rs. 80=00.

The *Some Aspects of Vedic Studies* is a collection of six papers and provides a good reading material to enthuse the research students in Sanskrit. 'Ritualistic Studies: A Retrospect and Prospect' by G.C. Kashikar gives the origin of the Śrauta literature, work that is being done at present by the modern researchers and need for further interpretation of the Vedic rituals from religious, anthropological and philosophical points of view. S.D. Joshi's paper 'Sanskrit Grammar and Linguistics' surveys in brief the origin of the grammatical tradition, influence of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* tradition on Modern Linguistics, and the types of research being carried out by modern scholars based on critical and historical approaches. Nil-madhav Sen in his paper 'Linguistics and Vedic Studies: Retrospect and Prospect' has brought out the influence of Sanskrit Grammar on Comparative Philology and General Linguistics and need for the application of modern techniques of interpretation like statistical method, and field-work method in Sanskrit studies too. 'Text edition and Text-Critical Study' by B.R. Sharma gives a bird's eye view of the problems in preparing critical editions with special reference to the Vedic texts. In this paper he calls for the need of a consolidated union catalogue of all the Manuscripts Libraries in India, besides the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*. Samarendranath Sen in his paper 'Science in Vedic Literature' brings home the concepts of science like Āyurveda, Jyotiṣa and mathematics. Diditi Biswas

in his paper 'Vedic Music: Its Study and Relevance in Modern Times' traces the origin of the Gandharva-saṅgīta to Sāmāgāna.

All the scholars feel a need for further intensive studies in Sanskrit by improving the quality of research and expertism of the scholars. This hand-book in this direction shall certainly be of great value and Samiran Chandra Chakrabarti deserves approbation for his commitment.

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SANSKRIT RĀMĀYAṆAS OTHER THAN VĀLMĪKĪ'S - THE ADBHUTA, ĀDHYĀTMA AND ĀNANDA RĀMĀYAṆAS. By Dr. V. Raghavan. Pub by Nandini Ramani for Dr. V. Raghavan Centre for Performing Arts, No 1, Third Street, Bhaktavatsalam Nagar, Adyar, Chennai - 600 020, 1998. Pp. 16+143. Price: Rs. 100=00; \$ 15.

The book under review is composed of three lectures delivered in 1974 at Bombay University by the multifaceted scholar Late Professor V. Raghavan and brought out by his daughter Smt. Nandini Ramani in commemoration of his ninetieth birthday. The lectures are on the *Adbhuta*, *Ādhyātma* and *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇas*. These *Rāmāyaṇas* are the adaptations of the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*. These adaptations differ slightly from the interpolations of the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*. Both of them bring home some contemporary socio-political, religious and philosophical tenets into the corpus story of the text, so as to obtain emotional acceptance of the public. While interpolations of passages into a given text are resorted to when isolated contemporary concepts are highlighted, the adaptations are preferred when the whole theme is intended to be presented entirely in a different perspective. For instance the *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa* is aimed at presenting the Śākta religion and philosophy. Sītā is made the central figure with an identity with Śakti, Mahēśvarī, Durgā, etc. To show her prominence, the *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa* introduced two Rāvaṇas; one Rāvaṇa with thousand heads to be killed by Sītā and another Rāvaṇa with ten heads to be killed by Rāma. The *Ādhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa* is aimed at spreading Bhāgavata cult. So Rāma is praised in similar sequences as Kṛṣṇa is praised in the *Bhāgavata*. The *Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa* is in main for the glorification of Rāma as against the enemies he conquered. Thus

it is made as a sort of comedy of villainish errors committed by Rāvaṇa.

Adaptations are full of historical inconsistencies. For example the story of Bṛndā connected with Kṛṣṇāvatāra is told in the *Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa*.

These types of inconsistencies are very common in the songs of Ālvārs. For the the Ālvārs all the types of Avatāras and images of god are the same.

Raghavan has shown all the important variations, innovations and the popular story elements incorporated in each of the three *Rāmāyaṇas* very concisely to provide a quick reading. Thus as pointed out by K.T. Pandurangi in his Foreword, "Dr. Raghavan's critical exposition in his lectures provides a new perspective and brings home a valuable contribution. In the absence of such a study, a modern scholar is likely to brush aside these works as merely inferior or partisan versions of *Rāmāyaṇa*. In this respect, the academic world is bound to be grateful to Dr. V. Raghavan for sharing his meticulous research and scholarship for the benefit of all those who are involved in the study of *Rāmāyaṇa*."

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ŚRĪ UMĀPATI ŚIVĀCĀRYA - HIS LIFE, WORKS AND CONTRIBUTION TO ŚAIVISM. Ed. S.S. Janaki. The Kuppaswami Sastri Research Institute, Chennai-600 004. Golden Jubilee Publication. Pp. xxviii+xxii+300. Price: Rs. 150=00; \$ 20; £15.

HISTORY OF GRAMMATICAL THEORIES IN TAMIL. By P.S. Subrahmanya sastri. The Kuppaswami Sastri Research Institute, Chennai, 1997. Pp. xxx+250. Price: Rs. 150=00; \$ 20; £15.

The fourteenth century doyen of Śaivasiddhānta Umāpati Śivācārya hails from the Dikṣitār family belonging to the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram. He is considered with high regard in the Śaivasiddhānta school for his academic excellence, ritualistic precision and spiritual attainment. Śivācārya is a versatile scholar in Sanskrit and Tamil and his works effusive of blending the Āgamic

and philosophical traditions. The Āgamic tradition during the medieval period supplemented its thought with the philosophical tenets like those of Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita. Thus the influence of the Sanskrit philosophical works like the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Śrīkaṇṭha is found in the works of Umāpati. Thus the ontological and epistemological inquiries entered also in the texts and commentaries of the Āgamic works. Umāpati's works stand witness to this modification. The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Chennai took upon itself to bring home the contribution of this pontiff and hence a seminar on 'Umāpati Śivācārya - His life, works and contribution to Śaivism' was conducted on 11th and 12th November 1988. The book under review is the proceedings of this seminar and it comprises of two sections. The first section contains in main eight research papers in English and Tamil. A synopsis in English is provided for the papers in Tamil and vice versa for the benefit of those who do not know either of the two languages.

T.B. Siddalingaiah in his paper 'Śivaprakāśam of Umāpati' has critically analysed the text and shown the views of Umāpati on the ontological categories of Śaiva Siddhānta like Paśu, Āṇava, Māyā, Karma, Self and Jñāna. The paper of K.D. Thirunavukkarasu delineates the characteristics of the 'divine grace' as exposed by Umāpati in his *Tiruvaruṭpayan*, a composition of hundred couplets in *Kuṛaḷ Veṇbā*. The need for a guru and a mantra is shown in the path of liberation. K.A. Sabharatnam Sivacharya has shown in his paper in Tamil 'Unmaineri viḷakkam' Umāpati's explanation on the ten stages of liberation known as *daśakāryam* which is given in his short poem of six verses. These ten stages are symbolized in the celebration of the ten-day annual festival. N.R. Bhat in his paper 'Paśu and Pāśa in Śataratnasāṅgraha' informs the text tradition of the work *Śataratnasāṅgraha* which is a compilation of one hundred verses called sūtras collected from various Śaiva Āgama texts such as *Svāyambhuva*, *Niśśvāsa*, *Devīyāmala*, *Mṛgendra*, *Kiraṇa*, *Parākhya*, *Devikālottara*, *Mātāṅga*, *Viśvasāra* and *Sarvajñānottara*. These verses deal with *paśu* (soul) and *pāśa* (matter).

There are two papers on the *Pauṣkara-bhāṣya* of Umāpati Śivācārya. S.P. Sabarathinam in his paper 'Umāpati Śivācārya on the



Pauṣkarāgama with special reference to Epistemology' shows the valid means of knowledge, remembrance (*smṛti*), doubt (*saṁśaya*), error (*viparyaya*) as held by Śivācārya. K. Balasubramania Sastri in his paper in Tamil 'Pauṣkarāgamabhāṣya-saṁgraha' shows the highlights of the *Bhāṣya* on the topics of Pati, Bindu, Māyā, Paśu, Pāśa, Pramāṇa and Tantrāvatāra 'origin of the Āgamas'. R. Subramanian in his paper 'Kōyirpurāṇa' (Tamil) gives an account of the *Sthalapirāṇa* of Chidambaram. S.S. Janaki in her paper 'Kūṁcitāṅghri-stava' shows the significance of the place Chidambaram, temple and images of Natarāja and various rituals of the temple on the basis of the references made in this *stotra* of 316 verses.

The second section contains abstracts from different texts which allude to the life and works of Śivācārya. A mention may be made of the *Śrīrājendrapuramāhātmyam nāma śrīmadumāpatiśivācārya-vijaya* composed by Śivānandanātha Dīkṣita which was appended in the introduction to the *Pauṣkarasaṁhitā*.

The *History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil* is a reprint of the book published in 1934. It is a thesis presented to the University of Madras in 1930 by P.S. Subrahmaṇya Sastri - a versatile scholar in Sanskrit and Tamil with equal proficiency. This reprint stands valid even today, for many of the issues discussed by the veteran scholar hold valid even today and demand for further inquiry. He has established that Tolkāppiyāṇār of the pre-Christian era was fully aware that Tamil was not related to Sanskrit either morphologically or genealogically. But Tolkāppiyāṇār exploited the ideas contained in the earlier grammatical literature in Sanskrit, particularly the *Ṛkprātiśākhya*, *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā* and Yāska's *Nirukta*. He has also refuted the ideas of the later grammarians like the author of the *Vīracōliyam* who opined close family relationship between Tamil and Sanskrit. For being a Sanskrit teacher, Sastri was very much influenced by the methodology followed by the Indo-European linguists of Sanskrit Philology. He presented the whole discussion in five chapters, namely 1) speech sounds, 2) sandhi, 3) declension of nouns and verbs, 4) compounds and 5) syntax. He also attempted at several innovative conjectures with regard to the origin of several grammatical elements. For example he opines that the origin of the gerunds *pākkū* and *vākkū* as in *unpākkū* and

*koḷvākkū*, mentioned by the authors of the *Nēminātam* and the *Nannūl* and *Naccinārkkiniyar* should have arisen through haplology from the dative singular forms *unpākkukku* and *koḷvākkukku* of *unpākkū* and *koḷvākkū* (p. 193).

In the case of *āytam*, a phoneme of half a *mātra* duration (p. 13), Sastri finds that it is borrowed from Sanskrit and used before all the voiceless consonants in Tamil (p. 69). He traces it to the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmāniya* forms of the *visarga*, which appears before a guttural and a labial phoneme respectively. The *jihvāmūliya* and the *upadhmāniya* are called *ayogavāha* because they are not included in the *varṇasamāmnāya* of Pāṇini, but found their application in the rules of Pāṇini and also in pronunciation. *Tolkāppiyāṇār* has listed this phoneme in the secondary sounds. Sastri also conjectures that *Tolkāppiyāṇār* has not included in the primary sounds perhaps following suit of Pāṇini (p. 66).

This book remains as a best handbook for the Sanskritists to learn the grammatical tradition of not only Tamil but also of the Dravidian languages. This book shows the need for Tamils to read Sanskrit and Sanskritists to read Tamil. Further this book proves beyond doubt that the horizontal and vertical migrations of different speech communities could also be ascertained through the linguistic approach. Therefore the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute deserves to be congratulated for making available this book to the scholars through this reprint.

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**ŚABDATATTVAM (TATSAMBANDHI) ĀDHUNIKAVIJÑĀNĀN CA** (Element of Sound & Modern Science related to it) [Skt.]. By Ram Narayan Das. Author, Devari Village, Virohi P.O., Mirzapur Dt., U.P. 2nd edn. Pp. 8+12+10+320. Price: Rs. 80=00.

The *Śabdatattvam* is a fine monograph on linguistics written in Sanskrit by the most unassuming and sincere scholar Ram Narayan Das, in which he attempted to present the modern linguistic theories along with the ancient linguistic theories of Indian grammarians and philosophers. The views of the *Nyāyavaiśeṣikas*, *Mīmāṃsakas* and grammarians on the production of speech sounds, perception of language, etc. are presented against the background

of Bhartṛhari's *Vākya-padīya*. Within the traditional frame work, the author has included several scientific observations of modern physicists, biologists, etc., like the tripartite division of the ear into 1) external ear - comprising of auricle, external acoustic meatus and tympanic membrane, 2) middle ear - comprising of three bones called the malleus, the incus and the stapes, ligaments of the ear ossicles, two muscles called tensor tympani and the stapedius, vessels supplying and drawing the middle ear, and nerves called chords tympani and tympanic plexus; and 3) internal ear - comprising of cochlea, vestibule and semicircular canals (p. 18). Similarly an account of the phonemic theories of the Prātiśākhya and grammar on the number of phonemes in the alphabet (pp. 114ff.). Further a full description of the vocal organs and their functions according to the modern phoneticians is added in juxtaposition. Dr. Das has not left any opportunity to mix the wisdom of the various Darśanas with modern science, thus making the book useful to those Sanskrit students who are unfamiliar with the modern linguistics. In all, the four chapters, the nature of language, phonetics, divisions of sentence and indeclinables are discussed in detail very efficiently and effectively. Thus this book stands as a best text book for the students who learn the grammatical theories through the medium of Sanskrit.

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PROF. H.D. VELANKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME. By S.G. Moghe. Pub. Prof. H.D. Velankar Birth Centenary Celebration Committee, Haritosha Samiti, Wilson College, Bombay 400 007. Pp. 100. Price: Rs. 200=00.

HARITOṢAṆAM [Skt]. By. S.G. Moghe. Devavani Mandiram. Indira Niwas, Avantikabayi Gokhale Marg, Mumbai - 400 004. Pp. 32. Price: Rs. 20=00.

A PEEP AT INDOLOGY. By S.G. Moghe. D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd., New Delhi-110 015. Pp. x+136. [Price: Rs. 150=00.]

ŚRĀDDHA-SĀGARA OF KULLŪKABHAṬṬA. Cr. ed. by S.G. Moghe. D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd., New Delhi-110 0015. Pp. 294. [Price: Rs. 300=00.]

PROFESSOR KANE'S CONTRIBUTION TO DHARMA-  
SASTRA LITERATURE. Compiled and ed. by S.G. Moghe. D.K.  
Printworld (P) Ltd, New Delhi-1100015. Pp. xii+380.

The Prof. H.D. Velankar Birth Centenary Volume is an academic biography of Hari Damodar Velankar (18.10.1893 - 13.1.1967) and released on the occasion of his birth centenary celebrations which were held for one year from 18.10.93 to 18.10.94. It was brought out by one of his faithful students Santaram Ganesh Moghe. In this short monograph of 100 pages Moghe has succinctly given the biography and achievements of Velankar who breathed his last while holding the post of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar Professor and Head of the Postgraduate and Research Department of Sanskrit, Bombay University. He portrayed the contribution of Velankar to Sanskrit in all the fields in which he laid his fingers as a manuscriptologist, an editor, a researcher and a prosodist. He has highlighted some of the methods adapted by Velankar in his studies and shown some of the conclusions he arrived at as illustrations. For example Velankar differs from Sāyaṇācārya in the interpretation of the hymn RV. VII.91 regarding the character of Indra (p. 44). Moghe has shown in several places how Velankar was differing from the European scholars like Oldenberg and Geldner in the interpretation of the Vedic texts (p. 46ff).

The *Haritoṣaṇam* is again a commemorative pamphlet in Sanskrit written by Moghe in honour of Professor Velankar. Velankar had his research publications mostly in English and partly in Marathi. Now in this pamphlet Moghe has summarized several interpretations of Velankar on the Vedic texts, in particular the *R̥gveda*, so as to bring home his thoughts to the traditional scholars who do not normally evince interest in English writings. To illustrate in a short note on page 9 Moghe has shown that Velankar held the view that there was no reference to the existence of image worship or *liṅga* worship in the *R̥gveda*, in contradistinction to the view held by A.A. Macdonell.

In *A Peep at Indology* Moghe has reproduced twelve papers he already published in different reputed journals. The papers relate to the *Vedas*, *Dharmaśāstra*, epics, classical literature and the relationship of the author and his commentator. Thus these papers

Kullūka's statements as authority in his *Smṛtitattva*. Kullūka quotes a passage of the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa* from the *Tithi-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi, who lived between 1375 and 1460 A.D. Raghunandana does not quote any passage from the *Śrāddhasāgara*. Therefore Kullūka is placed sometime between 1520 and 1620. It leaves a conjecture that the *Manvarthamuktāvali* was an earlier work, while the *Śrāddhasāgara* was a work of Kullūka in the last part of his life. For reasons unknown, the *Śrāddhasāgara* was not so popular as much as the *Manvarthamuktāvali*. For example Nilakaṇṭha who lived between 1600-60 quotes in his *Saṃskāramayūkha* only from the *Manvarthamuktāvali* and silent over the *Śrāddhasāgara*. It was only in 1790 Kāśinātha Upādhyāya quotes the *Śrāddhasāgara* in his *Dharmasindhu*.

The credit of Kullūkabhaṭṭa is his balanced interpretation of texts in a historical perspective and draws his conclusions so as to make them applicable to his contemporary situations. His method of evaluation becomes more illustrative and resplendent in his *Śrāddhasāgara*. He quotes from the *śrauta* texts and also from the *purāṇas* and draws his conclusions. This work indeed illustrates the role played by the *purāṇas* in perpetuation of the Hindu rituals.

The present edition is prepared mainly on the basis of a transcript in Devanagari script copied from the solitary manuscript available in Bengali script. This is indeed in more than one way a valuable contribution to the history of *Dharmaśāstra*.

Moghe tried his best in presenting the text in an authentic form by tracing all the sources of the citations in the work. Had he refrained from repeating the honorific appellatives "Mm. Dr.", "the present author", "the learned scholar", "the learned Mahāmahopādhyāya" and the like the introduction would have become quite sharp and elegant. Further he would have also avoided certain mistakes like the mention of Kāśinātha Upādhyāya in the list of authorities quoted by Kullūkabhaṭṭa in his *Śrāddhasāgara* (p.71). However the learned scholars do not fail to recognize the untiring efforts of this editor in bringing out this edition.

Thanks to the ardent efforts of Moghe for bringing out a collection of twenty papers of *Bhārataratna* Professor Pandurang Vaman Kane on history of Dharmaśāstra in the *Professor Kane's Contribution to Dharmaśāstra Literature*. The assorted papers give a panoramic view of the problems, investigating skills and academic proficiency needed in research in history of Dharmaśāstra in particular and Sanskrit in general. The problems of Dharmaśāstra are mainly concerned with contemporaneity in which the past is blended with the present so as to make the latter meaningful for the future. Thus not only the extant works but also the extinct works and authors quoted in them are very significant in determining the evolution of the society against the background of development of science, material prosperity and social institutions. Each article in this book is a specimen warranting for such a study. The reconstruction of the text of *Śaṅkha-Likhita-dharmasūtra* of Vājasaneyins composed by the two brothers Śaṅkha and Likhita is a fine example of higher textual criticism. In this all the quotations ascribed to them are collected from different works and studied. Interestingly a verse ascribed to them prohibits a brāhmaṇa to have a śūdra wife, while a prose passage allows to do so. The text was so popular that it underwent several modifications in wording of various sūtras.

In his article 'Purāṇa-Dharma', P.V. Kane gave a lead to suppose the existence of an extant work called *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* or *Purāṇa-Veda* preceding the Ṛg and other Vedic texts. The singular number of *purāṇa* in the *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra* (16.2.27) suggests that the text of *Purāṇa* was only one. The *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* (II.4.10 and IV.1.2), the *Āśvalāyana-gr̥hyasūtra* (X.7), etc. mention *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* as two distinct works. All the references to *Purāṇa* and *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* conclude that "centuries before the Christian era there was either one work called *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* or there were two works, one called *Itihāsa* and the other called *Purāṇa* which contained also verses. ... The extant *Purāṇas* may probably be recasts of the ancient *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* or *Purāṇa* made in the first centuries of the Christian era" (pp. 249-250). This proposition helps to resolve the distance between the Āgamic tradition of the temple worship and Vedic tradition of the sacrifices. The word *āgama* is used by both the Vedic and the Āgamic traditions alike. So the *Āgama* could be a concept

common to both the Āgamic and the Vedic traditions. The *Purāṇa* and the Vedic traditions are not contradictory to each other. Kane himself gives, in the article 'Vedic Mantras and Legends in the *Purāṇas*' (pp. 171-175), illustrations of the Vedic mantras quoted by the *Purāṇas* and the Vedic legends retold in the *Purāṇas*.

This collection from the workshop of P.V. Kane will be of great value for the investigators into the Hindu religion to acquire skills in applying rules of interpretation and for the learned scholars to know the disposition of the Indian mind towards change in religious practices to match with the changing socio-economic situations.

\* \* \* \* \*

*VĀLMĪKI-RĀMĀYAṆ KĀ CHANDA-VISLEṢAN* (Metrical Analysis of *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*) [Hindi]. By Manjula Sahdev. Pub. Nag Prakash, 11A, U.A. Jawahar Nagar, Delhi-110 007.

A statistical analysis of the metres in the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* is presented by Ms. Manjula Sahdev in this monograph. The South Indian recension of the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*, as adapted by the Gita Press, contains 645 *sargas* and 23646 verses. The critical edition of the Oriental Institute of M.S. University, Baroda contains 606 *sargas* and 18756 verses. Ms. Manjula Sahdev has taken the Baroda edition as the basis for her analysis.

She has applied logical principles in calculation of the verses taking into consideration of syntactic rules. Thus she observes that there are certain verses which contain two *pādas*, six *pādas* and eight *pādas*. Her observation is correct, for the syntactic unity is the basis for grouping of verses into *kulakam* by the commentators. All told *Vālmīki* used two types of *Anuṣṭubh*, namely *Pathyā* and *Vipulā*, *Triṣṭup* and its varieties *Indravajrā*, *Upendravajrā*, *Upajāti* and *Bhadrikā*, *Jagatī* and its varieties *Vaṃśastha*, *Indravāṃśa*, *Vaiśvadevī*, *Mālatī*, and *Atijagatī* and its varieties *Prāharṣiṇī* and *Atirucirā*. The metres are mixed in some verses. *Bhadrikā*, *Mālatī* and *Indravāṃśa* do not occur independently. The mixed metres are: *Pathyā* + *Vipulā*, *Upendravajrā* + *Vaṃśastha*, *Vaṃśastha* + *Indravajrā*, *Upajāti* + *Vaṃśastha*, *Bhadrikā* + *Mālatī*, *Indravāṃśa* + *Vaṃśastha*, *Indravāṃśa* + *Vaṃśastha* + *Upendravajrā*, and *Vaṃśastha* + *Atirucirā*.

Ms. Manjula has applied the metrical rules in literary compositions as prescribed by the poeticians and examined how far they were found valid in the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*. For example the verse at the end of each canto should be different in a *Mahākāvya*; but this rule does not hold water in the case of *Vālmīki*. It is only during post-*Vālmīki* period the rules for the *Mahākāvya* should have not crystallized. Hence the metrical analysis of *Vālmīki* should be made with reference to the Vedic metrics. In this context she has made a study of the logic behind the metrical form of language. She has rightly guessed the role of metre to play in a verse of benediction or curse. A close traditional interpretation of Vedic metre reveals that it was viewed as a suprasegmental morpheme by which an entirely different meaning could be conveyed, in effect a desirable or an evil result may be produced to the addressee of the verse. *Vālmīki* did indeed produce this miracle in the very first verse he composed unconsciously. The curse he threw on the hunter for killing one of the *krauñca* couple came out in the form of a verse, which became a model for 17,345 *Anuṣṭubh* verses (*Pathyā* = 13754, *Vipulā* = 3412, *Pathyā* + *Vipulā* = 179 as per the statistical analysis) out of 18756 verses. The vital role played by the metre is retold by *Vālmīki* himself in the dialogue between Daśaratha and Viśvāmitra. That what an arrow does can also be accomplished by a sentence of curse in couched in a metrical form is confirmed by *Vālmīki* in the dialogue between Viśvāmitra and Daśaratha. Viśvāmitra could annihilate his sacrifice destroying demons by a curse, but he preferred to assign this task to Rāma by transferring all the mighty weapons which are to be operated in association with muttering of a *mantra*.

In order to add flavour to the long list of verses, Ms. Manjula has given an account of the life story of *Vālmīki*, poetical structure of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the classification and divergence of metres and the use of indeclinable particles like *ca*, *tu*, *hi* and *ha* as a metre saving device, thus justifying her placement as Professor of Mahārshi Valmiki chair in Panjabi University, Patiala. The analysis of the data is a very laborious process, for each and every verse is to be scanned by counting the metrical feet or syllables. Thus she deserves all appreciation.



PRAPANCHAPADI (प्रपञ्चपदी) (Sanskrit translation of Telugu *muktakas*). Original Telugu version by C. Narayana Reddy and tr. by R. Sri Hari. Vararuchi Publications, R. Anantalaxmi, 16-2-836/F/2, Madhavanagar, Saidabad, Hyderabad - 500 059. Pp. xii+54. Price: Rs. 40=00.

The original Telugu poem from the pen of the Jñānapīṭha awardee, *Padmabhūṣan* C. Narayana Reddy has a distinction by its style and content. This is indeed a collection of 108 stray verses expressing the anguish of the poet over the lamented situation of the contemporary society and deteriorating state of cultural values. The poet has developed a new metre for his expression on the basis of the Urdu metre *Rubāyat*. This is a *mātrā*-metre with five lines in each verse. Of the five the first, second, fourth and fifth lines end with alliteration (*anuprāsa*). The middle line appears like a bridge for the flowing thought in the remaining four lines (see verse 62). Therefore the poet named this metre *pañcapadī*. As the poem is a reflection of the evils of the world, the word *prapañca* is added to it. By haplology it becomes *Prapañcapadī* with elision of *pañca* in *prapañca*.

The translator Sri Hari is endowed with the same wit and humour of the author, besides equal proficiency and felicity in Sanskrit and Telugu. So he could render the poem with ease in the same metre retaining the flavour of the original. P. Sriramachandrudu has shown the skills of the translator in his Foreword in detail. A few verses are shown here for appreciation of the poet's imagination and translator's skills:

किन्वयं ननु मूर्खलोको भृशं नैच्यं याति नित्यम् !  
 पङ्कजाले परिलुठन्नपि भावयति तच्छयनगेहम्  
 स्वार्थदोषे वर्धमाने भवति नूनं सर्वनाशः  
 अन्नदातुर्गृहस्यैव च्छिद्रकरणे ज्ञानमधिकम्  
 नीतिनिर्मितवसतिमविनयविषधरो ननु विशति निभृतम् ॥ 20 ॥

संसर्गेण तु रहितं शुद्धं दर्शय रक्तम्  
 साङ्कर्येण तु रहितं शुद्धं दर्शय वर्णम्  
 विलिखितरेखासीमनि वृत्तिः किं ननु शक्या  
 मृत्स्पर्शेन तु रहितां कामपि दर्शय सरितम्  
 अन्यप्रभावरहितं किञ्चन दर्शय चित्तम् ॥ 36 ॥

दीपवर्तौ द्रवीभावं विना दीप्तिर्भवति किम् ?  
 शिलागर्भे तक्षकेन तु विना शिल्पं भवति किम् ?  
 फलप्राप्तिर्मानवानां गाढपरिणतिमूलका  
 जलधिवारिषु किरणतापं विना मेघो भवति किम् ?  
 शिक्षणं पदयोश्च बहुलं विना नृत्यं भवति किम् ? ॥ 62 ॥

– M. Srimannarayana Murti

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